Tacitus' *Germania* and the *Jesuit Relations*: Intertextuality in the Transatlantic World of the Early Jesuits in New France.

by

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Abstract

The first Europeans who wrote about the Indigenous people of the newly discovered Americas, not only used medieval, but also classical literature as a tool of reference to describe 'otherness.'

As true humanists, the French Jesuits who arrived in the New World were deeply influenced by their classical education and, as claimed by Grafton, reverted to ancient ethnographic texts, like Tacitus' *Germania*, to support their analyse of the Indigenous people they encountered. Books talk to books. Inspired by *Germania*, the early French Jesuits managed to convey to their readers a subtle critique of their own civilization, enhancing, like Tacitus, the virtuous aspect of the so-called barbarians they described while illustrating the corruption of their respective civilized worlds.

This thesis suggests that the essence of Tacitus' work is definitively present in Pierre Biard's letters and his *Relation*. His testimonies illustrate the connection the early French Jesuits had with the humanist thought of their time.

Keywords: Jesuits, *Jesuit Relations*, New France, Tacitus, *Germania.*

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The idea of this research materialized after I heard the same comment in two different courses. Dr. Mike J. Carter in *History of the Roman Empire*, and Dr. Daniel J. Samson in *Pre-Confederation Canada* both discussed texts which, while describing 'the Other,' had served as a critique of their own societies. One was Tacitus' *Germania*, written in the first century CE; the other was the *Jesuit Relations* published in the early seventeenth century. Since, my aim has been to discover the connection between the two works, inspired by Dr. Corrado Federici's affirmation that "books talk to books." As the connection was France of the sixteenth century, I have had the great fortune and pleasure to work under the supervision of Dr. Jane Mcleod.

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Introduction

> [Of] silver and gold…[t]hey lack the necessary interest in their possession or use...The power of persuasion counts for more than the rights to give order...When they are not waging war they occupy a little of their time hunting but a good deal more is spent without occupation: they devote themselves to sleeping and eating. The bravest and most warlike do nothing, as the care of the house, home, and fields is given over to the women.[1]

Most Canadian historians would probably argue that this excerpt comes from the *Jesuit Relations*, reports written by French missionaries of their encounter with the Indigenous people of New France in the early seventeenth century. In fact, those passages are part of *De Origine et situ Germanorum*, which translates as *Concerning the Origin and Situation of the Germanics*, but is generally known as *Germania.* Considered the first 'serious' ethnographical work, it was written around 98 CE by Gaius Cornelius Tacitus, a Roman senator and historian. It describes the customs of the Germanic tribes and the land they inhabited. The similarities between the depictions of Indigenous people of the New World found in the testimonies of the Jesuits and the Germanic people of antiquity are startling. While it could be a coincidence, there is also a strong possibility that Tacitus' text served as an inspiration to the missionaries who reported on the new populations they were encountering on the other side of the Atlantic, just as Tacitus reported on the barbarians who inhabited the confines of the Roman world.

Could the depictions of the Germanic tribes provided by Tacitus in the first century CE have served, fourteen centuries later, as a template for the representation of the

[1] Tacitus, *Agricola, Germany*, trans. A.R. Birley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 39-45. (Germ. 5, 11, 15).

sauvages Jesuits encountered in the New World? To make such a connection, it is necessary to look at the 'intellectual' life of *Germania,* and to see, if, and how, the work was still relevant in sixteenth and seventeenth-century France, the society in which the authors of the *Relations* lived and studied.

There is an extensive historiography on the prevalence of Tacitus' works and its influence in France during that period. Peter Burke's "Tacitism, Scepticism, and Reason of State"[2] and Kenneth C. Schellhase's *Tacitus in Renaissance Political Thought*[3] are two examples of the many works done on the topic. However, the emphasis of those studies is more specifically directed at the influence of Tacitus' *Annals*, which are believed to have inspired Machiavelli's *Prince*, and the political principle of Reason of State. While both historians demonstrate the important presence of Tacitus in seventeenth-century European culture and confirm Mellor's argument that Tacitus' works had a quasi-ubiquitous place in the discussions of the late sixteenth, early seventeenth-century France,[4] none pay much attention to the influence of *Germania* on the discourses of the time.

In this thesis, I examine if *Germania*, and its depiction of otherness, could have served as a model for the first Jesuits who arrived in New France and influenced the vision those missionaries had of the Indigenous people they encountered. According to Quentin Skinner, who wrote in 1966 "The Limits of historical Explanations,"[5] it is very

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[2] Peter Burke, "Tacitism, Scepticism, and Reason of State," *The Cambridge History of Political Thought 1450-1700,* ed. J.H Burns and Mark Goldie. 1991, *Cambridge Histories Online* (2008): 477-498. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521247160.018

[3] Kenneth C. Schellhase, *Tacitus in Renaissance Political Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).

[4] Ronald Mellor, *Tacitus, The Classical Heritage* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc.1995).

[5] Quentin Skinner, "The Limits of Historical Explanations," *Philosophy* Vol. 41 No. 157 (Jul., 1966).

difficult to clearly demonstrate how "certain dominant concepts or leading ideas"[6] influence persons or specific historical events. However, he does not close the door completely. Skinner argues that the only way to somehow demonstrate influence is by reconstructing as much as possible "a complete account of the historical situation"[7] within which the object of study is situated. He claims that for historians, "the primary aim should not be to explain, but only in the fullest detail, to describe."[8] Nevertheless, he agrees that descriptions sometime can provide explanations. Therefore, the only way to demonstrate the possibility that a link between *Germania* and the *Jesuit Relations* existed has been to analyze the context in which the early French Jesuits lived, looking for their "*outillage mental*." This expression has been coined by Lucien Febvre of the *Annales* School, through which he argued that every civilization and every period of that civilization had a different and specific baggage of intellectual tools that permitted the interpretation of the world.[9] Thus, I seek to understand the world of a man like Pierre Biard, who was the first Jesuit to write about New France. I examine where he came from, the France of the end of sixteenth century, and the ideas that were prevalent there and at that time, especially those concerning otherness.

During the sixteenth century, France went through a period of turmoil and, as a burgeoning nation, greatly suffered from the Wars of Religion. Those unfortunate events often obliterate from the historians' vision the rich intellectual and humanist life that was simultaneously developing under the rule of kings like François 1er and Henri IV.

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[6] Ibid., 202.
[7] Ibid., 214.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Lucien Febvre, *Le problème de l'incroyance au XVI^{ième} siécle. La Religion de Rabelais* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1947): 166.
classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/febvre_lucien/probleme_incroyance_16e/incroyance_16e.html

François Rabelais, Jean Bodin, and Michel de Montaigne are but a few of the great thinkers of this century. It is thus significant that it was in Paris that the Society of Jesus was born. Its founder, the Basque Ignatius of Loyola, came to the French city attracted by its renown as the center of the European intellectual life of the time. While the dream of Loyola was to form men that would bring the word of God throughout the world, he greatly insisted that each received a humanist education, in which newly rediscovered classical texts were highly valued. The Jesuits soon became part of the educated elite and obtained entry to all the European courts, where they often became involved in the affairs of state. Their political power provoked much resentment and contributed to the creation of a "Black Legend" of the Jesuits that still continues to follow them more than five hundred years after the creation of the Society.

The goal of my research into the transatlantic world of the French Jesuits is not to diminish the significance of the often-negative impact of their evangelical missions on the Indigenous peoples, but to add a new dimension to the discussion. Since the creation of the order, the Jesuit missionaries have been placed on two extremities of a spectrum, either depicted as saints or as devils. I am not preoccupied by the religious aspect of the missionaries and would feel very inadequate at discussing their sanctity. My research concentrates on a secular approach, one that focuses on the intellectual presence of the Jesuits and the active part they took in their society's culture. This research serves as a response to the historians who are still presenting the Jesuits of the early seventeenth century as "intégristes," directly issued from the darkness of the Middle Ages. On the

contrary, through their "modernity and cosmopolitism,"[10] which materialized in their practise of inculturation, they distinguished themselves from the other more conservative missionary orders like the Récollets. As argued by Carolyn Podruchny and Kathryn Magee Labelle, the French Jesuits who arrived in New France were men of their time, thus early modern men, infused with the humanist Renaissance values.[11]

My first chapter follows the creation of the Jesuit order in Paris and provides a picture of the social and political situation of France in the second half of the sixteenth century, when the emerging nationalism and the rise of monarchical authority coincided with the emergence of French Renaissance humanists, in a realm divided by religious wars between the Huguenots and Catholics. It will also examine the complex situation brought by the accession to the throne of the first Bourbon King, Henri IV, a Protestant who converted to Catholicism to become the 'most Christian King,' and the delicate situation of the Jesuits who were perceived as a threat not only by both Catholics and Protestant factions but also by the Parlement and the University.

While the French Jesuits were trying to secure their position in France, Italian and Spanish Jesuits were busy establishing missions throughout the world, in Asia and South America. It is only in the early 1600s that the first Jesuits, Pierre Biard and Énemond Massé, arrived in Acadia. The testimonies left by Biard are the first ones written by a French Jesuit about his contact with the inhabitants of the New World. It is through them that we can have an idea of the first encounters with Indigenous nations like the Mi'kmaq. Biard's *Relation* was published in 1616 in Lyon and is not part of the corpus of

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[10] Myriam Yardeni, *Enquête sur l'identité de la "nation France" de la Renaissance aux lumières* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2004), 152.

[11] Germaine Warkentin and Carolyn Podruchny, "Introduction: Other Land Existing," in *Decentering the Renaissance, Canada and Europe in Multidisciplinary Perspective 1500-1700*, ed. Germaine Warkentin and Carolyn Podruchny (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 12-13.

Jesuit Relations that went under publication from 1632 until 1672 through Cramoisy's press in Paris. It thus provides a fresh perception, untainted by previous observations, and reveals in less obstructed ways the tools of interpretation available in the very early days of the seventeenth century.

To understand those intellectual tools, I look in the second chapter at the humanist education the Jesuits both received and provided, and how, through an epistolary system promoted by Loyola himself, a network of information was created which brought a heightened awareness of otherness among the order. This relation to the 'Other' was one that preoccupied many of the French thinkers of the time. Tacitus' *Germania* was used by both the *germanistes* who wanted to demonstrate the Germanic inheritance of the French and philosophers, like Montaigne, who saw the necessity to reassess the position of the heirs of the Greco-Roman world toward newly discovered others.

This concern with otherness inscribed itself in the transatlantic history of the seventeenth century when European powers, Spain, Portugal, England, and France were trying to each grab a piece of the newly discovered continent. Each burgeoning nation had its own specific approach to the 'Other.' Similarly, the Jesuits did not form a unified block and their approach to otherness was greatly conditioned by their own origins. Examining contemporary works, like those of the French lawyer Marc Lescarbot, who took an active part in the development of the Acadian settlement, helps understand the general perception of otherness prevalent among French intellectuals and the different agendas that stimulated French participation in the transatlantic experience. Lescarbot's reports were indubitably inspired by classical authors like Pliny and Tacitus, to whom he

referred frequently. It is highly improbable that Biard, who had studied the same authors, would not have seen, in a similar way, the relevance of their works.

The last chapter provides an examination of the different testimonies left by Biard, his *Relation* and letters that he wrote to his superiors. Most have been studied by scholars since the nineteenth century, when they became available through Thwaites' extensive edition of the *Jesuit Relations*. However, some of those documents were published for the first time in 1967 by the Jesuit historian, Lucien Campeau, who researched the Vatican archives after they became more accessible in the middle of the twentieth century. Through Campeau's edition, scholars can read the documents in their original language, mostly Latin and French, and thus avoid the distortions caused by translation. The classicists Haijo Westra, Milo Nikolic, and Alison Mercer have examined the Latin texts and found similitude in the rhetoric used by Biard and Tacitus. Indeed, while Biard does not refer as openly to Tacitus as Lescarbot, his work, as *Germania*, provides similar comparisons in favour of the 'Other' and a critique of his own society.[12]

My approach has thus been to reconstruct, as much as possible, Biard's "*outillage mental*," as a French Jesuit issued from the French society of his time. Looking at his testimonies, I have used this understanding of the Jesuit frame of mind to go beyond the texts, making abstraction of the inherent prejudices attached to the members of the Society of Jesus. The French Renaissance, unlike the Italian one started after the great discoveries. At a time when paradigms were shattered, France, as other European powers, was looking out west to a new transatlantic world where two "cultural tectonic

[12] Haijo Westra, "Les premières descriptions du Canada par le jésuite Pierre Biard. Du témoignage oculaire à sa réécriture," *Tangence* no 99, été (2012).

plates…formed on the opposite sides of the Atlantic Ocean"[13] would collide and create a New World. The newly rediscovered classical works were then used not only to bring a new light on the existing world but served to interpret this New World. The French Jesuits were participants of this early modern world, not relics of medieval obscurantism.

[13] Daniel K. Richter, *Before the Revolution, America's Ancient Pasts* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), 4.

1 Jesuits and "Jésuiterie" in sixteenth-century France

Throughout Europe, the sixteenth century was a century of turbulence and change, where old paradigms were shattered. Opening up with the age of discoveries, it saw the Reformation and the Catholic answer to this threat, the great propaganda campaign known as the Counter-Reformation. New approaches to philosophy and science tried to make sense of a changing world that had exploded with the discovery of an unknown continent. Theologians had to find a place in the biblical genealogy for the newly discovered populations. It was also a time stimulated by an intense interest in recently retrieved texts from antiquity. Book hunters searched monasteries throughout Europe in an attempt to find precious forgotten texts. Renaissance values spread to France and the humanists of the time believed the study of classical texts would make "l'homme plus conscient de lui-même, plus civilisé et plus humain."[1] During the reign of François 1er, (1515 -1547), Paris was seen as "le foyer intellectuel de l'Occident."[2] Indeed, while the revival of mystical texts and treaties of asceticism were prevalent in Spain, printers in Paris were busy publishing translations and commentaries of the pagan authors of antiquity, leaving the majority of religious publications to the Protestants in Lyon or Genève.[3]

Thus, when Inigo Lopez de Loyola arrived in Paris in 1528, the city was offering an effervescent intellectual life stimulated by a vision of renewal, the effect of a

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[1] R.P. Fouqueray, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France*, Paris; 1910, 29 quoted in Jean Lacouture, *Jésuites, une Multibiographie, les Conquérants* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1991), 61.

[2] Jean Lacouture, *Jésuites, une Multibiographie, les Conquérants* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1991), 59.

[3] Henri-Jean Martin, *Livre, Pouvoirs et Société à Paris au XVIIe siècle (1598-1701), Tome I* (Genève: Librairie Droz : 1969), 18.

Renaissance finally arrived in France and encouraged by the 'Renaissance prince' François 1er, King of France. Loyola was a former soldier and from a noble Basque family. He had embraced spirituality after being gravely wounded in the Battle of Pampluna in 1521, the same year Martin Luther was excommunicated. After his recovery, Loyola decided to go to study in Paris. Friends had tried to discourage him, arguing that France was a dangerous place for visitors originating from the Iberian Peninsula, as the rumour was that "on embrochait là-bas les Espagnols."[4] Still, Loyola did not hesitate to cross the Pyrénées accompanied by a donkey charged with books.[5]

Once arrived, he made contact with other Basques, Castillans, Navarrois, and Portuguese who, like him, had come to Paris attracted by its reputation as a city of renewal. These intellectual interests of Loyola and his companions are often ignored by historians who focus on the military aura that has been assigned to the Jesuits as soldiers of God. Lacouture argues that the reunion in Paris was motivated not by "une sommation de la foi mais par une convocation du savoir."[6] In 1534, Loyola and six other students united to form a new order. In 1539, in a document meant for the Pope, the group officially took the name of *Prima Societatis Iesu instituti summa*. This direct reference to Jesus in the name of the society, right at the creation of the order, made them susceptible to the charge of arrogance, which the Jesuit order was never able to shake off. Unlike the more humble Franciscans and Dominicans who had the name of saints as their inspiration, the Jesuits felt worthy of using the name of Jesus. A year later, in 1540, Pope Paul III officially recognized the order. By 1556, Loyola had created, through a

[4] Ignace de Loyola, *Autobiographie*, quoted in Jean Lacouture, *Jésuites, une Multibiographie, les Conquérants* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1991), 58.
[5] Lacouture, 58.
[6] Ibid., 60.

constitution, a hierarchical society with a Superior General elected for life at the top who directed Provincials[7] in charge of delimited territories.[8]

From Rome, where he remained acting as the first General, Loyola encouraged members of the Society to settle in Paris, which was the centre of knowledge and reason.[9] He had created the Society of Jesus as an order initially devoted to missionary work, but education, rapidly, became an important aspect of the Jesuit culture.[10] The French Jesuits profited from the generosity of Guillaume du Prat, Bishop of Clermont, who, conscious that the new order could provide support to the church in its fight against the Huguenot threat, offered them properties situated close to the *Sorbonne* University to open a college.[11] Until the arrival of the Jesuits, the *Sorbonne* enjoyed total control over education in Paris, a situation that brought both prestige and revenues.[12] The Jesuits, thus, became a source of competition for the *Sorbonne*, when in 1550 they started offering, not only high quality, but also free education at their *Collège de Clermont*.[13] The doctors at the *Sorbonne* interpreted the Jesuit system of free education as a scheme to provoke the ruin of the University. They contributed to the spread of the rumour that,

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[7] Early on the quick expansion of the society necessitated the creation of an administrative structure. Locally, Jesuit establishments were under the control of a superior who reported to the Provincial in charge of a delimited province. The Provincials' superior was the General who was elected for life. John O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 52.

[8] J.C.H. Aveling, *The Jesuits* (New York: Stein and Day, 1982), 124.

[9] Lacouture, 60.

[10] François de Dainville, *L'Éducation des Jésuites XVI - XVIII e siècle*, offers a compilation of the author's articles from 1948 to 1968. Jean Lacouture, *Jésuites, une Multibiographie, les Conquérants* published in 1991, informs on the beginning of the Jesuits in Paris and how they evolved as educators. In 2000, John W. O'Malley, S.J. "How Humanistic is the Jesuit Tradition?: From the 1599 Ratio Studiorum to Now" provides a more recent vision of the Jesuit system of education and of its origins. *Jesuit Education 21: Conference Proceedings on the Future of Jesuit Higher Educa*tion, Martin R. Tripole S.J. Ed. Philadelphia: St. Joseph's University Press, (2000). 1-21. http://www.bc.edu/content/dam/files/offices/mission/pdf1/ju7.pdf

[11] Claude Sutto, "Henri IV et les Jésuites," *Renaissance & Reformation/Renaissance & Réforme* Fall Vol 17, issue 4 (1993): 18.

[12] Lacouture, 270.

[13] Ibid., 285.

in a Machiavellian way, the Jesuits were convincing children of the nobility to join the Society in order to obtain the wealth of their families.[14]

Soon, both the University and the Parlement openly opposed the Jesuits whom they accused of being agents of both the Hapsburgs and of the papacy, whose authority was more than ever contested in a France absorbed as other European realms in the elaboration of a nascent nationalism. Indeed, sixteenth-century France was the theatre of changes where the emerging nation progressively solidified around the strong figure of its 'most Christian king,' believed to have a mythical link to God.[15] The vision that had emerged under Clovis of a nation unified under 'one king, one faith, one law' seemed more relevant than ever. In 1539, wanting to centralize power, Francois 1er replaced Latin with French in legal and administrative documents through *l'Ordonnace de Villers-Cotteret*, making 'central French' the official language.[16] The works of French Humanist intellectuals of the time like Jean Bodin and Étienne Pasquier reflect their preoccupation on defining the essence of the French Nation.[17] This search for the origins of the nation had provoked the "Gaulois-Germanist controversy"[18] which opposed *romanistes*, who identified the French heritage as a fusion between Gauls and Romans, to *germanistes*,

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[14] Luce Giard, "Le Catéchisme des Jésuites D'Étienne Pasquier, Une Attaque en Règle," in *Les Antijésuites, Discours, figures et lieux de l'antijésuitisme à l'époque moderne*, ed. Pierre-Antoine Fabre et Catherine Maire (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010), 88.

[15] Myriam Yardeni, *La conscience nationale en France pendant les guerres de religion (1559-1598)* (Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts, 1971), 21.

[16] Boulard argues that the edict of Villers-Cotterêts, which made 'central' French the official language, served to solidify the power of the monarchy over the diverse regions where local dialects were used. Gilles Boulard, "L'ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts: le temps de la clarté et la stratégie du temps (1539-1992),"
Revue Historique T. 301, Fasc. 1 (Janvier / Mars 1999): 45-100.

[17] Myriam Yardeni, *Enquête sur l'identité*, 19-23.

[18] J.H.M. Salmon, "Cicero and Tacitus in Sixteenth-Century France," *The American Historical Review* Vol. 85, No. 2, Apr., (1980): 321.

who considered the Francs, a Germanic tribe, as the real ancestors of the French.[19] However, underlying those genealogical preoccupations were strong political considerations. Marie Christine Pioffet, specialist in French studies, argues that, at that time, the French were in a process of "décolonisation culturelle"[20] trying to establish the proof of the superiority of the Septentrionals over the Meridionals, in an attempt to emancipate themselves from their overpowering Greco-Roman heritage.

It was at this time that a work of Tacitus, a first-century Roman author, became the source of inspiration for those who defended the German origins of the French people. *De Origine et situ Germanorum*, known later as *Germania*, had been rediscovered during the fifteenth century in the Benedictine monastery of Fulda situated in the present state of Hesse in Germany.[21] It provided depictions of the Germanic populations who lived at the borders of the first-century Roman world. This minor work of Tacitus, which had been preserved as a unique ninth-century manuscript, had eventually found its way back to Italy. Letters written by famous humanists and book hunters, like Poggio Bracciolini and Enoch of Ascoli, mention the work. However, it is in the hands of Enea Silvio Piccolomini, who was to become Pope Pius II in 1458 that *Germania* reappeared.[22] Piccolomini probably used *Germania* as an inspiration for his *De ritu, situ, moribus et conditione Germaniae descriptio* in which he described the mores of the 'Germane.' A few years after this publication, Tacitus' *Germania* was

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[19] Claude Nicolet, *La Fabrique d'une Nation- La France entre Rome et les Germains* (Paris: Perrin, 2003), 58.

[20] Marie-Christine Pioffet, "Gaulois et Souriquois à travers les mailles de la généalogie lescarbotienne," *Regards croisés sur le Canada et la France, Voyages et relations du XVIe au XXe siècle*, ed. Pierre guillaume et Laurier Turgeon (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2007), 31.

[21] A.R. Birley, "Introduction" in Tacitus, *Agricola, Germany*, trans. A.R. Birley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), xxxvi.

[22] Christopher B. Krebs, *A Most Dangerous Book. Tacitus's*, *Germania from the Roman Empire to the Third Reich* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2011), 80.

printed in Bologna, Italy, by Francis Puteolanus in 1472 [23] and, from then on, "spread through Europe in the fields of literature, science, and politics."[24]

Thus, *Germania*, which presented the Germanic tribes as free and virtuous despite their lack of civilized customs, was recuperated by the pro-germanistes, French intellectuals who in their attempt to establish the genealogy of the French nation found direct connections between the Germans described by Tacitus and their ancestors, the Franks.[25] In *Francogallia* published in 1573, the French Huguenot lawyer François Hotman argued that both French and Germans shared the value of freedom, which they would defend with their life against the tyranny of the Roman world.[26] In *Germania*, Tacitus had stated that, the "power of kings is neither unlimited nor free." (Germ. 7) [27] Hotman referred to that quotation and argued that, as their ancestors, French could only reject absolutist monarchy.[28] Thus, for the germanistes, *Germania* conveniently served to determine the Germanic origins of the French people and their inherited thirst for freedom.[29] Their vision was in opposition to the romanistes who believed in a strong monarchy and saw the French king as the direct heir of the Roman power.[30] Ultimately, Tacitus' work served the agenda of both Gallicans who wanted a strong monarchy free of Roman control and the germanistes who resented the nascent absolutism.[31]

However, while this was a political controversy, it had ramifications in the

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[23] Donald R. Kelley, "Tacitus Noster: The Germania in the Renaissance and the Reformation" in *Tacitus and The Tacitean Tradition*, ed. T.J. Luce and A.J. Woodman (Princetown: Princetown University Press, 1993), 157.

[24] Krebs, 23.

[25] Pioffet, "Gaulois et Souriquois," 37.

[26] Mellor, *Tacitus, The Classical Heritage*. 29.

[27] Tacitus, quoted in Mellor, 31.

[28] Ibid., 31.

[29] Catherine Volpilhac-Auger, *Tacite en France de Montesquieu à Chateubriand* (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation at the Taylor Institution, 1993), 293-298.

[30] Nicolet, 58.

[31] Volpilhac-Auger, 13.

religious spheres as religion and politics were deeply intertwined. The Jesuits found themselves in the middle of this political debate as their avowed allegiance to the Pope made them suspicious. The French Gallican Church recognized the spiritual power of papacy but believed temporal affairs should be under the sole jurisdiction of the monarch, and thus, resented the Jesuit position.[32] Both the University and the Parlement, whose members were mostly either Huguenots or Gallicans, had also more affinities with the germaniste vision, which supported their rejection of papal supremacy. Yardeni argues that, because of their resentment of the papacy's intrusion in the affairs of the French clergy, Gallicans had in fact more in common with the Huguenots than with the pro-Jesuit Catholics, who were perceived as the Pope's pawns.[33] Ironically, more conservative Catholics also felt threatened by the unconventionality of the Society which was so different from the mendicant orders like the Franciscans and Dominicans.[34] Loyola's *Exercices Spirituels* were submitted to the censorship by the archbishop of Toledo and barely escaped being put on the Index of banned books.[35] Naturally, the Huguenots did not see this new religious group favorably as they knew the Jesuits would strengthen the Counter Reformation.

Conversely, the Jesuits found in the ruling class great allies who used them to counterbalance the politically powerful University and Parlement.[36] They soon became the *protégés* of French kings. In 1551, Henri II granted the Society, through *lettres patentes,* the rights to own property and teach in France.[37] However, it is only in 1561,

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[32] Lacouture, 270.
[33] Yardeni, "Enquête," 143.
[34] Shenwen Li, *Stratégies missionnaires des jésuites français en Nouvelle-France et en Chine au XVIIe siècle* (St-Nicolas, Que: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2001), 31.
[35] Martin, 17.
[36] Lacouture, 273.
[37] Ibid., 275.

after years of judicial debate initiated by the faculty of theology of the *Sorbonne*, that the Society was finally officially recognized by a decree of the Assemblée de Poissy. But, there were some conditions, and one of them was that the order changes its name, as 'Society of Jesus' was deemed too universal.[38] Again, the King, this time Charles IX, intervened in their favor and, in 1565, the Jesuits regained the right to their name after being known for four years as the *Société du collège de Clermont*.[39]

Meanwhile, France was torn by the Wars of Religion, which fiercely opposed Protestants and Catholics throughout the country. Two significant events marked that internal conflict. The most notorious was the slaughter of thousands of Protestants known as the St Bartholomew's Day massacres, which happened in August 1572, a few weeks after the French King Charles IX had married his sister, Marguerite de Valois, to the young Protestant Bourbon prince, Henri de Navarre.[40] In 1589, it was the turn of the Catholics to face uncertainty. Indeed, the death of the last Valois without an heir, which through the Salic law made the Protestant Henri de Navarre heir to the throne of France, was perceived by them as an "outright abomination."[41] However, Henri, intent on reigning over a unified France, abjured his faith and acceded to the throne of the "most Christian Kingdom" as Henri IV. With the permission of the Pope, he divorced Marguerite and married the very catholic Marie de Medicis who provided him with an heir, the future Louis XIII.[42] In 1598, again hoping to bring stability and peace in his kingdom, Henri promulgated the Edict of Nantes which acknowledged limited rights to

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[38] Ibid., 276.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 82.
[41] Holt, 122.
[42] Ibid.,177.

the French Huguenots.[43] The Edict officially brought a simile of calm throughout the realm but did not manage to eradicate the deeply embedded antagonisms, which continued to exist among the Protestants and the Catholics.[44]

In his effort to bring stability to the kingdom, Henri IV had to assert his authority while maintaining a delicate balance between the different religious and political factions. While many among both Huguenots and Catholics were dissatisfied with either the limits or the permissiveness of the Edict of Nantes, Henri kept allies in all camps. Nevertheless, he also faced strong opposition, mainly from the Parlement. The Jesuits who had maintained their influence at court helped the King offset the powerful institution.[45] However, in 1594, Jean Chatel a young student of the Jesuit *Collège de Clermont*, attempted to assassinate the King. The monarch was only slightly injured, but Chatel was convicted, tortured and quartered. The Jesuit Père Guignard, librarian at the college, was hanged. This unfortunate event provided the perfect opportunity for the Parlement to demand the expulsion of the Jesuits from France. The *parlementaires* passed a decree without bothering to get permission from the King, a clear statement of their power and determination to get rid of the Jesuits.[46] As a result, the Jesuits were banned from the whole kingdom, but the decree really only affected areas under the

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[43] Eric Nelson, "Royal Authority and the Pursuit of Religious Settlement," in *Politics and Religion in Early Bourbon France*, ed. Alison Forrestal and Eric Nelson (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), 109.

[44] Holt, 222. Less than a 100 years after, the Edict of Nantes would be revoked by Louis XIV.

[45] Claude Sutto, "Henri IV et les Jésuites," *Renaissance & Reformation/Renaissance & Réforme* Vol 17, issue 4, (Fall 1993):18.

[46] Robert Descimon, "Chastel's Attempted Regicide (27 December 1594) and its Subsequent Transformation into an 'Affair,'" in *Politics and Religion in Early Bourbon France*, ed. Alison Forrestal and Eric Nelson (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), 94.

jurisdiction of the Paris Parlement.[47] In January 1595, thirty-seven Jesuits were escorted out of the city.[48] The *Collège de Clermont*'s library was pillaged and the collection of 9,000 volumes went to the hands of librarians and collectors.[49]

Behind this harsh decision were sixty years of accumulated rumours and suspicions that formed what has been called the "Black Legend" around the Jesuits. From the beginning, Loyola and his companions had been suspected, because of their Iberian origins, of being agents of the Hapsburgs.[50] Their secretive ways rendered them suspicious. The fact that they did not adopt a distinctive uniform, as well as their geographic mobility, was seen as a proof of their deceiving nature.[51] They were seen as "masters of hypocrisy and deception."[52] Their propensity to mingle in affairs of state throughout Europe, while serving as confessors to monarchs and members of the ruling class, revealed their political aspirations and led to accusations of conspiracy in favor of either the Catholic Hapsburgs, the Pope, or even their own society. The Gallican church disliked the Jesuit avowed allegiance to the Pope, while the Pope resented some of the more independent minds of the order.

Intangible rumours coming from all parts of Europe associated Jesuits with images of magic, witches, demons, Jews and Gypsies. It was believed that the members of the Society favored theater as an educative tool so that they could have access to many

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[47] Lyon also banished the Jesuits from the city, Robert Descimon, 86. See Yann Lignereux, "Une implantation difficile: controverse religieuse et polémiques politiques (1565-1607)," in *Les Jésuites à Lyon XVIe-XXe siècle*, ed. Étienne Fouilloux et Bernard Hours (Lyon: Ens Édition, 2005), 21.

[48] Lacouture, 458.

[49] Martin, 476.

[50] There was a popular perception at that time in France, expressed vehemently in pamphlets like *Remonstrance aux François*, published in 1594, that the Spanish were determined to conquer France and submit the population to forced labour like they did in their colonies with the Indios. Yardeni, "*La conscience nationale,"* 271.

[51] Eric Nelson, "The Jesuit legend: superstition and myth-making," in *Religion and Superstition in Reformation Europe*, ed. Helen Parish and William G.Naphy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002),107-109.

[52] Ibid., 97.

disguises.[53] They were accused of using sorcery to seduce monarchs[54] and even of inflicting torture on those who wanted to leave the order.[55] Responding to arguments defending the piety and virtue of some Jesuit teachers and preachers, critics argued that such poor souls were part of a scheme to provide a protective screen. [56] The assassination attempt by the young Chatel, who had never implicated the Jesuits, added regicide to the many sins already supposedly committed by the members of the Society. While Catholics' fears were mostly directed at the political role of the Jesuits, the Protestants had a less stoic approach and their contribution to the "Black Legend" was inspired by the reinterpretation of a medieval repertoire of myths. They saw the Jesuits as demons, instruments of the devil whose quasi-supernatural powers were put to the service of the Antichrist as incarnated in the Pope.[57]

In 1602, the historian and lawyer Etienne Pasquier, closely associated with the Sorbonne and the Parlement de Paris, published *Le Catéchisme des Jésuites,* which since has been considered "the archetype of anti-Jesuit literature."[58] The work was published under the name of Guillaume Grenier in Ville-Franche, an imaginary printer,[59] and was republished in the late seventeenth century by Protestants.[60] Again Pasquier denounced the privileged link the Jesuits had developed with the Pope and their General and, of course, accused them of regicide. He argued that the Jesuits did not fit in the religious mold of the time [61] and caused division in the 'real' Church which was worse than the

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[53] Ibid., 105.
[54] Ibid., 99.
[55] Ibid., 106.
[56] Ibid., 100.
[57] Ibid., 108-109
[58] Giard, 74.
[59] *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, http://data.bnf.fr/15602645/guillaume_grenier/
[60] Anne Sauvy, *Livres saisis à Paris entre 1678 et 1701* (La Haye: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972), 147.
[61] Giard, 86.

threat brought by Protestantism. [62] Those "braves disciples de Machiavel,"[63] were not even "docteurs en théologie."[64] This work greatly contributed to the propagation of the "Black Legend" surrounding the Jesuits and also added a new dimension, the association of "jésuiterie et juiverie."[65] It is true that Loyola had not hesitated to accept in the Society *conversos*, people of Jewish or Muslim origin who had converted to Christianity. Diego Laynez, who was to succeed him as General of the Society, was one of them. At the time, this was a very daring decision as there was a definite stigma attached to those *conversos* considered tainted by their impure blood. Loyola's "judéophilie" provoked many negative reactions among members of the Catholic Church, especially in Spain. [66]

These distorted facts fed the legend which became "self-perpetuating and grew rapidly."[67] This legend has had a profound impact on the general perception of the Jesuits and is still deeply embedded in the collective memory of the Western world. It has been adapted at different times and, in the twentieth century, was cleansed of the supernatural connotation.[68] It is interesting to note that the novelist, semiotician and philosopher Umberto Eco has given an important part to the Jesuits in his *Foucault's Pendulum*, a novel published in 1988 about the different secret societies. He connects Jesuits directly to the Templars, Rosicrucians and the Jews.[69] Although a novel, Eco's work serves to demonstrate the prevalence of the prejudice that surrounds the Black Robes.

Thus, Jesuits have served as scapegoats for all kind of ills since the foundation of the order. Like Jews, they have been suspected of conspiracy to attain global domination

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[62] Ibid., 87.
[63] Ibid., 89.
[64] Ibid., 87.
[65] Lacouture, 258.
[66] Ibid., 244-245.
[67] Nelson, "The Jesuit legend,"102.
[68] Ibid., 111.
[69] Umberto Eco, *Foucault's Pendulum* (New York: Harcourt, Inc. 1989), 458.

and recognized as individuals for whom "the end justifies the means."[70] Similarly, the Jesuits, in the early seventeenth century were suspected of infiltrating society, initially as spies for the Spanish King and the Pope, and eventually for their own profit.[71] The identification of the Jesuits with medieval darkness, which remains to this day in the collective unconscious, has even infiltrated the work of some scholars, like Karen Anderson, Carole Blackburn and, Dominique Deslandres who have used the image of the Black Robes as an effective means to exacerbate the evil of colonialism. In *Chain her by one foot*, (1991) Anderson denounced the subjugation of Indigenous women by the missionaries whom she described as agents of "domination and subordination."[72] A decade later, the anthropologist Carole Blackburn, re-affirmed this perception in *Harvest of Souls*, (2004) again depicting the Jesuits as religious *intégristes* who rejected any form of acculturation.[73] This vision was also supported by the Quebec historian Dominique Deslandres in 2005, with her article "Entre persuasion et adhésion: la mission française au XVIIe siècle" in which she claims that the Jesuits were absolutely impervious to the culture of the Indigenous peoples they encountered.[74]

Of course, there is always some element of truth at the base of every myth and legend. Jesuits did mingle in the affairs of state and as missionaries were intrinsic part of the colonization strategy. Loyola in his *Epistolae et Instructiones*, had admonished his companions to adapt to the character of influential men in order to gain their trust "et les

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[70] Ibid., 473. Quoted from Eugene Sue in *Le Juif Errant* 1823 and the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion.* (unknown author) published in Russia in 1903 to discredit the Jewish community.

[71] Nelson "The Jesuit legend," 109.

[72] Karen Anderson, *Chain her by one foot*, (New York London: Routledge, 1991), 225.

[73] Carole Blackburn. *Harvest of Souls, The Jesuit Missions and Colonialism in North America 1632-1650*. (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004).

[74] Dominique Deslandres, "Entre persuasion et adhésion: la mission française au XVIIe siècle," *Théologiques*, vol 13, n° 1 (2005).

mettre dans votre filet au plus grand service de Dieu."[75] As argued by Lacouture those recommendations from this "brazen Tacitean"[76] could easily have found their place in Machiavelli's *Prince*.[77] Many Jesuits had succeeded in 'seducing' monarchs throughout Europe and were thus often implicated in the affairs of state. One of them, Père Pierre Coton, certainly managed to approach Henri IV in an efficient and convincing way.

Already recognized at the time as a brilliant mind, Coton was a controversial figure. His advocacy of decentralization had earned him the epithet of 'dissident' by some, and 'moderate' by others. Coton believed that an overly strict control from Rome impaired Jesuit efforts from establishing the order in France.[78] In 1603, he had become *prédicateur du Roi* and had rapidly managed to convince Henri IV, despite the opposition of the Parlement, to re-establish the Society of Jesus in France. Henri wanted the Jesuits back as a sign of good faith towards Rome where, at the time, the Edict of Nantes had provoked resentments. The King welcomed back the Jesuits through the Edict of Rouen signed in September 1603, but on certain conditions. From then on, the *Provincial Supérieur* would have to be French, and take an oath of fidelity to the King. This oath somehow implied that the interest of the King had precedence over those of the General and the Pope.[79] Furthermore, a Jesuit would have to remain "en permanence" at the Court. This unofficial hostage would be chosen by the King and would serve as his confessor.[80] Coton managed to have the proposition accepted by Rome, arguing that this was a necessary sacrifice to return to France and to the King's favour. For many this was

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[75] Loyola, *Epistolae et Instructiones* quoted in Lacouture, 129.
[76] Lacouture, 92. (my translation)
[77] Ibid., 129.
[78] Aveling, 199.
[79] Ibid., 210
[80] Lacouture 458-459

perceived as the "intrusion of a foreign power in the national affairs"[81] which would eventually weaken France in face of the Spanish enemy.

Aware of the Order's delicate situation, Coton knew that he could not afford to alienate the King. He soon managed to become his confidant, and as of 1606, his official confessor. However, Henri IV's frequent affairs were well known (they had earned him the surname of *le Vert Galant*). Thus, as the King's confessor, Coton had to deal with a man who, through his open *libertinage*, transgressed Catholic rules. His apparent absolution contributed to the vision of the Jesuits as *profiteurs* in search of political power.[82] To the Generals who complained about the arrogance of the confessors, their independent attitudes and their involvement in politics, court confessors, such as Coton, responded that they had in fact very limited influence on the royal souls.[83] Described by an historian in 1982, as a man who "carried devotion to the crown and French nationalism to extremes,"[84] Coton was certainly a fine politician who succeeded in maintaining a balance between his religious and political duties. He was so influential that Protestants who were unhappy with Henri's decisions complained of the Jesuit's excessive influence claiming that the King had 'coton' in his ears![85]

Nonetheless, it would be wrong to believe that Henri had been totally seduced by the Jesuits. His favour, sometime referred to as his '*jésuiterie*,' was governed by reasons of internal equilibrium as well as *politique étrangère*. Jesuits provided a buffer between

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[81] Isabelle Lachance, ""Ils estoient si subjects à leur bouche" La *Relation* de 1616 face à la topique antijésuite," in *Jesuits Accounts of the Colonial Americas, Intercultural Transfers, Intellectual Disputes, and Textualities*, ed. Marc André Bernier, Clorinda Donato and Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 265.

[82] Aveling, 210-211.

[83] Ibid., 244-245.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Lacouture, 461.

Henri and his old Protestant allies who expected favours for remaining faithful to him despite his conversion to Catholicism.[86] The Jesuits also played a central role in the negotiation between Henri and the Pope concerning his divorce with Marguerite de Valois.[87] Furthermore, through their good relations with Spain, they served the King as intermediaries to help maintain the delicate peace signed with Philip II in 1598.[88] Thus, despite their many opponents, the French Jesuits, by the beginning of the seventeenth century held a significant position at the court, as the King needed them as much as they needed him.

However, while the French Jesuits faced some problems in France, other European members of the Society were actively participating in the spread of the Catholic faith and their missions throughout the world were starting to flourish. By the end of the sixteenth century the Society of Jesus was well established in Asia and in Iberian America. Jesuit missions were created in India, Japan and China as early as 1541, only one year after the Pope had recognized their order. Early on, Loyola had designated François Xavier, one of his first companions, a Basque like him, to accompany Portuguese expeditions and convert Asians populations. After his arrival in India, Xavier soon denounced the cupidity of the Portuguese in his letters and the incompatibility of the conquering attitude of the colonizers with the spiritual message that he was bringing. In a letter Xavier wrote to Loyola in 1548, we find the emergence of the attitude of openness that would characterize the approach of some Jesuits in

[86] Ibid., 463.
[87] Descimon, 95.
[88] Lacouture, 463.

China and in America. "L'esprit de connaissance se substitut à l'esprit de conquête."[89] Xavier revealed his interest in not imposing but in studying and understanding the people he encountered. In another missive, he expressed his enthusiasm at going to Japan where he had been told there was a great university, promising to send a report on his discoveries to "l'Université de Paris pour que par elle toutes les autres universités d'Europe soient informées."[90] This new vision and opening to otherness could have been the result of the contact the early Jesuits had during their studies in Paris with Guillaume Postel known as the first orientalist. Postel, while extravagant, was one of the great humanist minds of his time. He had brought from his trips in Asia a universalistic approach which he had integrated in an early form of Catholic humanism, a philosophy he had transmitted to his students.[91] In this new expanding world, the Jesuits hoped for a universal propagation of the Catholic faith. To achieve their goal they were ready to acknowledge in the others they encountered any parcel of spirituality which could be connected to Catholicism.

Consequently, the Jesuits influenced by their humanist vision, developed a very particular style of proselytism. While, they shared with other missionary orders an approach already embedded in an early form of colonialism, the Jesuits had a specific "corporate culture"[92] which set them apart. Indeed, unlike the other orders, the Society of Jesus believed that adapting concepts of Christianity to the existing beliefs of the populations they encountered, instead of imposing extraneous European notions on them,

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[89] Ibid., 163.
[90] François Xavier, quoted in Lacouture, 166, from Correspondance (1535-1532).
[91] Lacouture, 262.
[92] Dominique Deslandres, "Exemplo aeque ut verbo: The French Jesuits' Missionary World," in *The Jesuits, Culture, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 260.

was the most efficient way to convince them of accepting the Catholic faith and achieve universal Christianity. The Jesuit missionaries applied this method, which they referred to as *accomodacio*, in different degrees in their missions throughout the world.[93]

The Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci, who became influential at the Chinese court in the 1580s, is certainly the best example of an advocate of this form of *accomodacio*. Ricci's approach represents the essence of the Jesuit missionary style. Loyola had recommended that the missionaries learn the language of the populations they encountered to facilitate direct communication with the rulers. Once close to them, they were to stimulate interest by demonstrating western sciences and technologies. Inculturation, the adaptation of Christian theology to the beliefs of others was promoted to facilitate conversion. In China, Ricci dressed in silk as a mandarin and adapted Confucian principles to suit Christian dogmas.[94] However, while Ricci was in China and Xavier in India pursuing their attempts at Christianising Asian populations, most French Jesuits were busy with missions inside France.[95]

It is only in the early seventeenth century that the first French Jesuit missions were created outside the European territory: Constantinople in 1609, and Acadia in 1611. French colonial expansion was very limited and the expeditions towards the New World were stimulated mostly by a desire for economic expansion. Some explorers had reached the New World in the early 1500s but it is Jacques Cartier who reached Hochelaga in 1534, during the reign of François 1er, who is the most renowned. However, while

[93] Adrien Paschoud, "Aborder les Relations jésuites de la Nouvelle France (1632-1672): enjeux et perspectives," *Aborescences: revue d'études françaises* no 2, (2012): 3.

[94] Lacouture, 308-320.

[95] Deslandres in *Exemplo aeque ut verbo*, 260. Also see Deslandres, *Croire et Faire Croire, Les Missions françaises au XVIIe siècle (1600-1650)*, (Paris: Fayard, 2003) for the importance of missionary work in France.

Indigenous people had been brought to France as early as 1508,[96] there had been no missionary interest in converting the inhabitants of the northern parts of America. Later attempts at creating a French colony in Brazil, under the reign of Henri II, had ended in a total disaster mostly due to the internal struggles between the Catholic and Huguenot colonists.[97] Priests only accompanied fishing expeditions to provide religious support to the crew who, travelling on the sea for months, had a definite tendency to live like heathens when not under strict supervision.[98]

The Jesuit Pierre Biard is one of the first known to have manifested a desire to go to the New World. While the letter in which he asked for permission to go has been lost, we do have his superior's reply. Dated July 1602, the General Claudio Acquaviva acknowledges Biard's demand made the same year to go 'ad Indos.'[99] However, it took seven years of negotiations between Pierre Coton in Paris, Acquaviva in Rome, and the P. Jean Gentil, Provincial of Aquitaine in Toulouse, before Biard could embark for the New World.[100] The first evidence of a desire to send missionaries to *Nouvelle-France* appeared only two years after Biard's request in a letter from Fontainebleau, addressed by Coton to Acquaviva and dated October 25th 1604. In this missive Coton asked permission from the General to accede to the request of Henri IV who wanted two Jesuits to

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[96] Campeau, *Monumenta Novae Franciae, Établissement à Québec (1602-1616)*, Vol. 1 (Rome, Québec: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu/Les Presses de L'Université Laval, 1967), 61. According to Campeau, the first American Natives to be brought to France came on arrived in 1508 on *La Pensée*, property of the ship-owner Jean Ango.

[97] For a interesting revision of the French settlement in Brazil see John McGrath, "Polemic and History in French Brazil, 1555-1560," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* Vol. 27, No. 2 (Summer, 1996): 385-397.

[98] Luca Codignola, "Competing networks: Roman Catholic Ecclesiastics in French North America, 1610-1658." *The Canadian Historical Review* Vol 80, December, (1999): 542.

[99] Campeau, *MNF*, Vol. 1, Doc 1, 3-4.

[100] Codignola, "Competing networks," 543.

accompany the fishing fleet to the Grand Banks in Nouvelle-France.[101] However, according to Campeau, the priests were to provide support to the fishermen and were not expected to have much contact with the Indigenous population.[102] Still, in a correspondence between Coton and P. Laurent Maggio, a Venetian Jesuit well versed in French politics dated February 1605, a discussion appeared to take form about a missionary project in the new settlement of Port Royal in Acadia.[103]

However, this project of a mission in Nouvelle-France was met with reticence from many members of the Society who believed that their 'soldiers of God' were needed in Europe because of the ongoing fight against Protestantism. Their concern is clearly expressed in the *Mémoire sur le Projet de la Mission Canadienne*, believed to be written 13 March 1605, in which different reasons are given to justify delaying the establishment of a mission in Nouvelle-France.[104] The first reason invoked was that Port Royal, the French settlement in Acadia, was under the control of the Calvinist Pierre Dugua des Mons, who had fought at the side of Henri IV during the religious wars. Dugua had remained loyal despite the King's conversion to Catholicism and Henri had rewarded his allegiance by making Dugua the royal lieutenant general of a vast territory and the vice admiral of its seas and inland waters.[105] In 1605, Dugua had founded Port Royal in Acadia after receiving from Henri IV the monopoly of the fur trade. Despite the King's recommendation to promote only Catholicism, the Calvinist had brought with him a

[101] Ibid., 541.
[102] Ibid., 543
[103] Campeau, *MNF*, Vol.1, Doc 6, 8.
[104] Ibid., Doc 8, 10.
[105] Brenda Dunn, *A History of Port-Royal/Annapolis Royal, 1605-1800*, Canadian Electronic Library Publishers, (Halifax, NS: Nimbus 2004), 1.

minister along with two Catholic priests.[106] The anonymous author of the *Mémoire*, believed to be the Provincial of Aquitaine, P. Gentil, also argued that this demonstrated that Dugua wanted to promote his faith. In the author's opinion, Dugua, being the master of the place and far from the King, would not "endure the free exercise of the catholic religion."[107] Besides, as Dugua's men were "gens de sac et de corde, tirés de prison et condamnés ez galères,"[108] the author believed that they would not be very inclined toward religious zeal.

The author offered a second reason to delay the establishment of a mission, which implied a definite criticism of the Portuguese and Spanish approach, when he claimed that undertaking missionary work too early would be counterproductive. He believed that South American indigenous populations came to associate violence with the Christians because of the haste of the missionaries who were associated with the conquerors. Indeed, as discussed later, French expansionist views were very different from the Spanish ones. Frenchmen saw, in the Native inhabitants they encountered, allies more than people to subjugate.[109] Furthermore, he argued that France so desperately needed good men to combat Protestantism, that it would be a waste to send two priests on such an uncertain expedition. To propel them in this suicidal quest would impair future expeditions. Furthermore, if something were to happen to the priests, Coton would be blamed. The author of the *Mémoire* recommended showing patience and waiting to

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[106] Campeau informs that while one of the Catholic priest went back to France in 1604 before Port Royal was settled, the remaining priest and minister according to Sagard's relation both died soon after and were buried together. Vol. 1 Doc. 8, 11

[107] Campeau, *MFN*. Vol 1, Doc. 8, "Mémoire sur le Projet de la Mission Canadienne," 12.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Vanita Seth, *Europe's Indians Producing Racial difference, 1500 -1900* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 32.

see how things evolved.[110]

While the deliberations were going on about whether or not to accede to Biard's requests, Dugua faced important financial problems. In 1607, the King had revoked his privilege over the fur trade because of the contestations made to him by the French hatters and furriers, both groups with Dugua's monopoly. Another reason for the King's decision was the recriminations of many Dutch merchants who, also unhappy with the situation, were threatening the good relations Henri IV wanted to maintain with Amsterdam.[111] As a consequence, Dugua asked Jean de Poutrincourt, to whom he had given the seigneurial grant of Port Royal with its trading privilege in 1604, to go back in Paris to find financing to pursue the activities in the new settlement.[112] Poutrincourt's son Charles de Biencourt went back to France in the hope that he would convince benefactors to invest money to support the new installation. Aware that the possibility of conversions could stimulate the interest of fervent religious nobles, Biencourt was also looking for priests. Marc Lescarbot, the French lawyer and writer, author of *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* who accompanied him in his quest complained "il ne s'en présenta aucun, les uns s'excusans sur les incommoditez de la mer et du long voyage, les autres mettant l'affaire après Pasques, occasion qu'il n'y eut moyen d'en tirer quelqu'un hors de Paris."[113] The unknown did not seem very appealing to many. Biencourt and Lescarbot rejected the recommendation to turn to the more 'zealous and pious' Jesuits who, such as Biard, had manifested their interest. Both Biencourt and Lescarbot shared a definite antipathy

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[110] Campeau *MFN*. Vol. 1, Doc. 1, 12-13.

[111] Bernard Barbiche, "Henry IV et l'outre-mer: un moment décisif," in *Champlain et la naissance de l'Amérique Française*, ed. Raymonde l'Italien et Denis Vaugeois (Sillery, Qc: Septentrion, 2004), 30.

[112] Dunn, 4.

[113] Lescarbot, *Histoire de La Nouvelle-France*, quoted in Thomas Pfeiffer, *Marc Lescarbot: pionnier de la Nouvelle-France* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2012), 94-95.

towards the members of the Society of Jesus.[114]

Since 1608, when he had received his permission to go to the Acadian missions, Biard had spent months in Bordeaux and then in Poitiers expecting to embark on a ship towards the New World.[115] However, due to Poutrincourt's and his son's profound antipathy for Jesuits, the boat which left for Port Royal in February 1610 had on board only a single priest, Jessé Fléché.[116] While the Jesuit historian Lucien Campeau believes that Poutrincourt suffered a "véritable obsession" against the Jesuits which he believes turned into a "désordre psychique",[117] Paolo Carile argues that Poutrincourt's problem inscribes itself in the political and religious context of the time. Biencourt and Lescarbot's dislike of the Jesuits was not exceptional. Their hope was to return to France to report that their priest Fléché had managed to convert many Indigenous people and thus convince people at the court of the possibility missionary work in the New World on their own terms.

Fléché did well and, less than a month after his arrival, despite his lack of knowledge of the language, converted the Sagamo Membertou (whom he baptized Henri in honour of the King) and twenty members of his family. Membertou was the chief of a Mi'kmaq band who lived close to Port Royal. The proximity of the French with whom they had established good relations certainly encouraged them to convert. Biencourt rushed back to Paris, where he arrived in August 1610, to announce the success of the 'conversion campaign.' However, things had changed since Biencourt's last visit. Henri

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[114] Pfeiffer, 94-95.

[115] Lucien Campeau, *La première mission des Jésuites en Nouvelle-France* (Montréal: Les Éditions Bellarmin, 1972), 15.

[116] Paolo Carile, *Lo Sgardo Impedito*, *Studi sulle relazioni di viaggio in 'Nouvelle-France' e sulla letteratura popolare* (Fasano, Br: Schena, 1987), 164.

[117] Campeau, *MNF*, Vol 1, Quoted in Carile, 165.

IV had been assassinated in May and power was now in the hands of Marie de Medicis, the Regent Queen. While the Jesuits were again suspected of having been involved in the regicide and despite bad publicity provoked by a pamphlet entitled l'*Anticoton* circulating in Paris, Coton had managed to retain his influence at court.[118] In *La Conversion des Sauvages* published in haste as a document to present to Marie de Medicis, Lescarbot desperately tried to convince the Regent that Fléché was doing well in Port Royal and that there was no need of "ces docteurs sublimes, qui peuvent être plus utiles par deça à combattre les vices et les hérésies. Joint qu'il y a certaine sorte de gens desquels on ne se peut pas bien asseurer, faisans métier de censurer tout ce qui ne vient de leurs maximes et voulans commander partout……desquels les plus grands rois mêmes ne peuvent se défendre."[119] However, despite all his efforts, Marie de Medicis insisted that Biencourt take Jesuits with him. Her very pious *première dame d'honneur,* and wife of the governor of Paris, the Marquise de Guercheville, was willing to invest money in the project on the condition that Jesuits would be in charge of the mission. Despite the objections of the Huguenot merchants, Biencourt had no choice but to accept the Jesuits and signed a contract, on 20 January 1611 which gave the Society of Jesus, "la moitié des bénifices éventuels"[120] of the new colony because of the financial help their protector had offered. The contract, which had been arranged by Madame de Guercheville, officially made the Jesuits partners of Biencourt.[121]

Thus, it is after seven years of negotiation between the "leaders of the Acadian

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[118] Lacouture 463.
[119] Quoted in Carile, 113, Lescarbot, *La Conversion des Sauvages*, 126
[120] Carile, 114.
[121] Dunn, 8.

colony, the court of France, and the Society of Jesus itself,"[122] that the two Jesuits, Pierre Biard and Énemond Massé, finally sailed from Dieppe on Biencourt's ship on 26 January 1611. They arrived four months later at Port Royal on the day of the Pentecost 22 May 1611.[123] Who were those men who had decided to leave a somewhat confortable life to go to an unknown and possibly dangerous land where even the Frenchmen were unfriendly? Certainly Biard and Massé were part of a privileged elite. They had good connections at court.[124] Luca Codignola argues in "Competing Networks: Roman Catholic ecclesiastics in French North America, 1610-1658" that very few Jesuits asked to be sent to North America, most of them preferring the French or Asian missions.[125] From 1610 to 1630 only ten priests and five lay brothers from the Society, thus fifteen Jesuits in all, went to Nouvelle-France compared to twenty-two Récollets.[126] It is interesting to note that in a letter dated 1628, the General Muzio Vitelleschi refused the request of Jean Tuffet who wanted to establish a second mission and wanted Jesuits under the jurisdiction of the province of Aquitaine go to Acadia. The General's argument was that the missions of Nouvelle-France had been for many years the prerogative of the province of Paris and that he wanted to avoid "jurisdictional jealousies."[127]

This affirmation is strange as both Biard and Massé were closely connected to Lyon and their departure had been approved after negotiations between Claudio Acquaviva who was then General in Rome, Coton in Paris and the Provincial of

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[122] Codignola, "Competing networks" 543.

[123] Lucien Campeau S. J., *Biographical Dictionary for the Jesuit Missions in Acadia and New France: 1602-1654,* trans. William Lonc, S.J. and George Topp S.J. (Midland: William Lonc, 2001), 61.

[124] Codignola, "Competing networks," 548.

[125] Ibid., 550.

[126] Ibid., 573.

[127] Ibid., 548.

Aquitaine Jean Gentil.[128] Énemond Massé who accompanied Biard to Nouvelle France certainly had a privileged situation. He assisted Coton during his visits to the French court, where he had been chosen to act as confessor to the Marquise de Guercheville.[129] Massé asked to be sent to the Indies in 1608 and was selected in 1610.[130] He was born in 1575 in Lyon. At the age of twenty, he had done his noviciate with the Society of Jesus in Avignon. While he taught theology at the *Collège* in Tournon from 1591 till 1599, most of his career was spent as a bursar for the Society in Lyon and, as of 1609, he was at the French court in Paris were he had the ear of Madame de Guercheville.[131]

As for his companion Pierre Biard, he had been a student in Lyon of the new Provincial of France, Christophe Baltazar who had been put in charge of the Acadian mission in 1608.[132] While both went to Port Royal, and Massé eventually died in Sillery near Québec at the age of 70, it is Biard who has left us the first testimonies about Acadia written by a Jesuit. Biard was born in Grenoble, France in 1567 or 1568. He is believed to be the son of Jean Biard, royal notary and chamberlain of Gières and Jeanne Cluzel. After doing his noviciate at the Jesuit College in Tournon, he studied philosophy at Tours and theology in Avignon. From 1600 to 1608, Biard taught theology and Hebrew, first in Embrun from where he wrote his letter requesting to go 'ad Indos' and then in Lyon as of 1604.[133] It is difficult to know what induced him to send his request. The situation for the Jesuits in that part of France was difficult. They had been invited by the *Consulat* of Lyon in 1565 to take charge of the *Collège de la Trinité*. The city needed educators and

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[128] Ibid., 543.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid., 544.
[131] Campeau, *Biographical Dictionary,* 288.
[132] Codignola, 543.
[133] Campeau, *Biographical Dictionary,* 61. And Campeau *MNF*, Vol. 1 Doc. 1, 3.

forces to secure the Catholic faith as Lyon had been conquered and occupied by Huguenots during the religious wars in 1562 to 1563.[134] However, the same Consulat, following the decree of the Parlement de Paris in February 1595, had ordered the expulsion of forty-one Jesuits who had been escorted out of the city.[135] Biard was one of the first to go back to Lyon in 1604 after the edict of Rouen had been approved in Paris. Was Biard disillusioned with the situation in France? His letter is silent on this. The only thing that we know is that he was an educator who wanted to be a missionary.

Thus, by the end of the sixteenth century, the Society of Jesus, created in Paris out of the association of Iberian intellectuals and men of faith, had established missions from the confines of Asia to the South American Spanish and Portuguese new colonies. However, in France, the Jesuits had suffered the attacks of the University and the Parlement who had succeeded in having the order expelled from 1594 till 1603. It was only through the active diplomacy of some of their members who had, like Pierre Coton managed to develop close links at court, that the Society survived in France. However, by the end of the sixteenth century, there were no French Jesuit missions outside France. The Nation, torn by the Wars of Religion and internal conflicts, had not yet become a very active participant in the expansion of the transatlantic world. At the dawn of the seventeenth century, Henri IV was aware that France had to participate in the appropriation of the wealth of the New World, if only to counteract the advancement of Spain and England. As religion was intrinsically linked to the State, missionaries played an important role in the projects of expansion and colonisation. Having secured their

[134] Bernard Hours, "Les Jésuites, Lyon et les Lyonnais," in *Les Jésuites à Lyon XVIe-XXe siècle*, ed. Étienne Fouilloux et Bernard Hours (Lyon: Ens Édition, 2005), 8.
[135] Lignereux, 21.

position at the court despite the many obstacles, the French Jesuits were finally ready to participate in the transatlantic adventure.

2 A humanist education

> Et ainsi se développera dans la première partie du dix-septième siècle, sous l'impulsion notamment des membres de la Compagnie de Jésus, le culte des philosophes anciens parmi ceux qu'il est convenu d'appeler les humanistes chrétiens.
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> (*Livre, Pouvoirs et Société à Paris au XVII^e siècle*, Henri-Jean Martin. 1969)

While Loyola had initially perceived the essence of the Society as one devoted to proselytism, the humanist education of the first members had permeated the core of the Jesuit philosophy. Early on, those highly educated men offered free education which competed in quality with the one offered in the traditional institution like the *Sorbonne*. Loyola had soon realized that education operated better to prevent heresy than to cure it.[1] In 1957, François de Dainville studied the extent of Jesuit education in France and demonstrated through his research that, by 1627, the French Jesuit colleges served around 40,000 students.[2] This number was confirmed in 1999 by Louise Kristine Haugen who affirmed that by the end of the sixteenth century "the Jesuits were busily establishing a position of significant educational influence in French-speaking regions, an influence they were to retain until near the end of the *ancien régime*."[3]

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[1] William J. McGucken, S.J. *The Jesuits and Education* (Eugene Or: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1932), Reprint Google Books, 2008, 9. https://books.google.ca/books?id=COFLAwAAQBAJ&pg=PR16&lpg=PR16&dq=William+J.+McGucken,+S.J.+The+Jesuits+and+Education&source=bl&ots=U2j2PsI_1_&sig=4zYSgBDddnGJVQpuI7396_EDcQw&hl=fr&sa=X&ei=wME_VeH_N4OoyATT6YGQAg&ved=0CEEQ6AEwBg#v=onepage&q=William%20J.%20McGucken%2C%20S.J.%20The%20Jesuits%20and%20Education&f=false

[2] François de Dainville, "Collèges et fréquentation scolaire au XVIIe siècle," *Population (French Edition)* 12e Année, No. 3 (Jul. - Sep., 1957): 470.

[3] Louise Kristine Haugen. "A French Jesuit's Lectures on Vergil, 1582-1583: Jacques Sirmond between Literature, History and Myth," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* Vol 30, No 4 (winter, 1999): 968.

The education provided by the Jesuits was structured to ensure consistency. In 1599, the general Acquaviva, after many consultations had produced a guiding curriculum, the *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum*, "the Plan and Methodology of Jesuit Education."[4] The *Ratio* provided a strict template for the educators. The whole program consisted of eight years of study based mostly on classical texts. The first three years, concentrated on the learning of Latin and Greek grammar, syntax and poetry. The fourth and fifth years focussed on topics particularly favoured by the Jesuits, the art of eloquence and rhetoric. Throughout those years, texts from Plato and Homer for Greek, and Cicero, Sallust, Caesar, Livy, Horace, Virgil, and Tacitus for Latin, served as the basis of the education. More difficult to read than Cicero or Caesar, Tacitus, while sometimes used in the early years, was an author reserved for the highest levels. His rhetoric and style of writing were perceived as more complicated. It was believed that "on n'apprend pas à lire dans Tacite, mais on s'y perfectionne."[5] After those five years, students could enter in a second level, which consisted of three years of philosophy. The first concentrated on logic, the second on cosmology and natural philosophy and the last on ethics, metaphysics and psychology.[6]

It would be difficult to dismiss such a program as one promoting obscurantism, and aimed principally at forming 'soldiers' in the war against Reformists, again a perception inspired by the "Black Legend."[7] In fact, the Renaissance humanist approach adopted by the Jesuits, while deeply inscribed in Christianity, was strongly inspired by

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[4] Georges Leroux, "La raison des études. Sens et histoire du Ratio Studiorum," *Études françaises* vol. 31, n° 2, (1995): 29-44. And *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum, 400th Anniversary Perspective*, ed. Vincent J. Duminuco, S.J. (NewYork: Fordham University Press, 2000). X.

[5] Volpilhac-Auger, 4.

[6] Leroux, 39-40.

[7] O'Malley, "How Humanistic." 8.

the Greek and Roman authors of antiquity.[8] Renaissance humanists did not perceive a dichotomy between reason and religion.[9] Recent research has contributed to rehabilitating the Jesuits as humanists who had positive and enduring influences on the great minds of the early modern world.[10] New scholarship acknowledges the early Jesuits as humanist thinkers "trained by and in the Renaissance"[11] and as such representative of modernity in their time. Furthermore, it is now recognized that many of them were scientists and mathematicians who have contributed to the advancement of knowledge.[12] The Jesuits of the early seventeenth century certainly saw themselves as part of an educated elite who participated not only in the philosophic but also in the scientific discussions of the time. Biard went through the whole system and had thus received a humanist education.

How can we understand Biard's desire to go "ad Indos"? We know that he was highly educated. Why would he leave his position as a professor to go risk his life in an unknown land? The letter in which he formulated his demand is unfortunately missing. We have only Acquaviva's answer to Biard's request in which "[il] se réjouit de le voir indifférent et l'exhorte à l'obéissance."[13] Is he indifferent about doing missionary work, or is he indifferent about the destination? It is difficult to know. However, we know that Biard was not totally ignorant of the situation in missions. In an effort to centralize information, Loyola had developed a system in which he strongly encouraged epistolary

[8] Ibid., 1.
[9] Martin, 24.
[10] Mordechai Feingold, ed. *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters* (Cambridge: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2003),viii-ix. See also Louise Kristine Haugen "French Jesuit Lectures."
[11] Warkentin and Podruchny, 13.
[12] Haugen, 108, see also Mordechai Feingold ed.
[13] Campeau, *MNF,* Vol 1, doc 1 p 4.

communications. Jesuit missionaries had to send regular reports in the form of letters to their Provincials who would forward them to the Superior General. Those letters were copied and sent to the different colleges where they were meant to be read during meals. This system permitted the diffusion of information on the different activities of the members of the Society throughout the world.[14] Biard certainly heard some readings and probably also had access to the letters which were published in an annual publication, the *Litterae Annuae.* Sent to Rome by the Provincials, those publications contained all the relevant details of what had happened in the internal and external affairs of the different jurisdictions.[15] In 1578, a specific protocol was developed to ensure a regular and controlled production of the *Litterae Annuae* specifying all the information that had to be included. Although in a certain way similar to the *Relations*, those texts were not meant for popular reading but were restricted to the order.[16] However, before the publication, Assistants in Rome were asked to read the texts provided by the Provincials and decide which elements should be kept for publication. While necessary, due to the quantity of documents, this editing also served as a form of censorship.[17]

Thus, the Jesuit epistolary culture was based on a stellar model of communication always transiting through Rome for approval or correction. The General in Rome served as the central axis of a star formed by lines that emerged from it without any interconnections. However, parallel to this system was another one, constructed of

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[14] Markus Friedrich, "Circulating and Compiling the *Litterae Annuae* , Towards a History of the Jesuit System of Communication," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*. Vol. 77, Issue 153 (Jan-Jun 2008): 38. And Annick Delfosse, "Les Litterae annuae de la Compagnie de Jésus entre compte rendu factuel et construction identitaire: l'exemple de Bruxelles." Colloque *Quatre siècles de présence jésuite à Bruxelles,* (2006) http://hdl.handle.net/2268/77147 (text available on *Academia.edu*, (2012): 215-233. at https://ulg.academia.edu/AnnickDelfossehttps://www.academia.edu/3603902/

[15] Delfosse, 216.

[16] Friedrich, 38.

[17] Delfosse, 217.

uncentralized information, which formed a global network that spread from the Americas to China, India and Japan.[18] Thus, as argued by Tinguely in "Le Monde multipolaire des missionnaires jésuites," towards the end of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits had already established an international 'web.'[19] Tinguely maintains that, when examining the extra European activities of the Jesuits, it is thus necessary to replace the stellar model with one of a '*toile*', a web, which he believes is a better representation of the "interculturalité moderne dans sa dimension globale."[20] "La Compagnie ne se contente pas de s'organiser en un réseau mondial favorisant certaines perspectives excentrées: elle encourage aussi, dans le détail de l'action missionnaire, une forme parfois radicale de décentrement culturel."[21] Pierre Biard was part of this web.

Tinguely argues that, until recently, historians have put the emphasis on colonialism and power relations between the 'discoverers' and the Indigenous peoples encountered. Many scholars have thus seen the early modern period as one based on a stellar system with Europe at its center. The emergence of World History and the recognition of a more intrinsically connected world has brought a new approach to the studies of the encounter between Europeans and otherness and to the world of missions in general.[22] "La stratégie déployée par Ricci et ses imitateurs témoigne du formidable potentiel de décentrement inhérent à la culture jésuite de la Renaissance."[23] Tinguely's vision is not unique; recent scholarship has provided more on that topic, works such as, Shewen Li's, *Stratégies missionnaires des jésuites français en Nouvelle-France et en*

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[18] Frédéric Tinguely, "Le Monde multipolaire des missionnaires jésuites," in *La Renaissance Décentrée*, *Actes du Colloque de Genève*, ed. Fréderic Tinguely (Genève: Librairie Droz S.A., 2008), 62.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid., 63.
[22] Ibid., 61.
[23] Ibid., 64.

Chine au XVII^e siècle, 2001, Takao Abe's, *The Jesuit Mission to New France, A New Interpretation in the Light of the Earlier Jesuit Experience in Japan*, 2003, and Luke Clossey's *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions*, 2008, are but a few examples. Therefore, the two Jesuits who arrived in Port Royal in 1611 shared an intellectual baggage constructed, not only on their faith, but also on classical humanism and a vision of otherness that was more open than we have been led to believe. The system of *accomodacio* specific to the Jesuits provided the perfect ground for a form of acculturation at the contact of the other. [24]

However, this openness to the 'other' remains a topic of contention among scholars, especially historians interested in the relations between the early Europeans and the Amerindians. Dominique Deslandres shares the vision of the historians Jaenen, Trigger, and Axtell [25] who see Jesuits as agents of imperialism whose interests were limited to the conquest of souls and, for some, the glory of martyrdom. This post-colonialist approach, which concentrates on the studies of domination and subjugation of populations perceived as subalterns, is typical of the late twentieth-century historiography. While it has provided a necessary re-evaluation of the interaction between the European newcomers and the Indigenous populations, this approach has often resulted in a very unidimentional portrait of the Jesuits, influenced by more than a whiff of the still resonant "Black Legend." The French missionaries who were members of the Society certainly were working for both the interests of France and of the Church, and even of their own order, but it is difficult to argue that this is what distinguished

[24] According to Martin Fournier, the approach of the Jesuits inscribed itself in a "*modernité naissante*" that distinguished them from the other missionary orders like the *Récollets* with whom they competed for the control of the mission in New France. Martin Fournier, "Paul Lejeune et Gabriel Sagard: Deux visions du monde et des Amérindiens," *Canadian Folklore Canadien* Vol 17, 1, (1995): 85-101.

[25] Deslandres, "Exemplo" note 3.

them from the other newcomers. Carole Blackburn recognizes in the Jesuits a certain form of openness towards the other, but she maintains that the depictions they provided of the Indigenous peoples they encountered "were influenced by a biblical philosophy of degeneration as well as by folkloric images of the Wild Man."[26] Associating the inhabitants of the New World to this figure of the Wild Man reduced them "to the condition of brutes."[27]

The introduction of this notion has served two purposes. First, it was used to put emphasis on the depiction of the Jesuits as superstitious men plagued by fears typical of the Middle Ages. Secondly, it has served to soften the 'barbarian as bloodthirsty' portrait of the Indigenous peoples. Indeed, the association of the mythical Germanic figure of the *Wilder Mann*, (Wild Man in English, *l'homme sauvage* in French) to the Indigenous peoples encountered by the newcomers in North America has emerged following a debate that arose in a post-colonialist context about the signification of the word 'savage.' Many scholars point to the origins of that term, coming from the Latin *silva* or forest, to attenuate the negative connotation that has been attached to the word, arguing that savage did not mean bloodthirsty and cruel, but inhabitant of the forest (somehow as it has been recognized that the word 'barbarian' initially only meant 'not Greek').[28] Consequently, the connection between savage as inhabitant of the forest has been made with the mythical figure of the Wild Man.[29]

This Wilder Mann was usually represented as a being covered with hair except at articulations like knees and elbows. His face was human but he wore a full beard and had

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[26] Blackburn, 19.
[27] Ibid., 19.
[28] Maureen Korp,"Problems of Prejudice in the Thwaites' Edition of the Jesuit Relations," *Historical Reflections/Reflexions Historique,* vol. 21, No.2. (1995): 261-276.
[29] Ibid., 267.

long hair. He was perceived as not only untouched by civilization but also devoid of reason.[30] However, while that figure was important during the European Middle Ages and Renaissance in Europe, it was popular mostly in Germanic areas. Nicole Belmont in *Mythes et croyances dans l'ancienne France* argues that l'homme sauvage was not a very widespread mythical figure in France "où le merveilleux est plus discipliné, familier, simplifié, presque "raisonable"." [31] Most authors who discuss the Wild Man refer to Richard Bernheimer's, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology,* published in 1952, to support their assertion. Bernheirmer, a medieval art historian, studied the depictions of bearded and hairy men in medieval tapestries, paintings, and sculptures, to conclude that this half human, half beast creature was the base on which the vision of otherness had been constructed since the Middle Ages. These 'Wild Men' certainly remained part of the collective imaginary of the following centuries. But, as did Belmont later, Bernheirmer himself states that in France the figure of l'homme sauvage lost his bestiality and evolved into the whimsical harlequin.[32] The prankish side of the mythical figure was what remained of the Germanic Wilder Mann. Therefore, is it difficult to imagine that the French newcomers, who praised not only the physical beauty but also the reason of many of the Indigenous peoples they encountered, would associate them to this wild mythical figure.

Thus, I argue that the Jesuits, as highly educated men, did not see in the Indigenous peoples, whom they also described physically in a very positive fashion, a representation of the Wild Man. In fact, I agree with Cornelius Jaenen that it is more the

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[30] Olive Patricia Dickason, *The Myth of the Savage, and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984), 72.

[31]Nicole Belmont, *Mythes et croyances dans l'ancienne France* (Paris: Flammarion, 1973), 18.

[32] Richard Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages* (First published 1952 by Harvard University Press), (New York: Octagon Books, 1970), 71-73.

Europeans than the Indigenous peoples who resembled this hairy beardy figure.[33] Even Olive Patricia Dickason, who also insists on the Wild Man, acknowledges that as early as the mid sixteenth century many testimonies disengaged with this vision and that, especially missionaries were among those who fervently denounced this association.[34] The association of the inhabitants of the New World with this bestial figure developed in the popular mind as a result of embellished and exaggerated reports of travelers who, as already denounced by Montaigne in the late sixteenth century, inflated their depictions to stimulate interest in their tales.[35] We should be careful not to confuse such tales with testimonies such as the *Jesuit Relations*. The *Relations* served a different purpose. They were not meant for the entertainment of the curious crowds but were aimed at an educated elite curious about the possibilities offered by the New World. They were early works of ethnography filled with definite moral undertones.

However, to have a better idea of the perception the early French newcomers had of the inhabitants of the New World it is interesting to examine the work of Marc Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*. Published in 1609, thus two years before the arrival of Biard in Acadia, it provides a glimpse of the vision of otherness that prevailed in France in the early seventeenth century among the more educated elite. The discovery of the New World and the rise of Protestantism had shattered many Christian paradigms during the last century. Theologians faced the necessity of finding a way to integrate the newly discovered populations into their vision of monogenism, the accepted theory that all humanity initially came from Adam and Eve, or after the Great Flood, from Noah and

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[33] Cornelius J. Jaenen, "Amerindian Views of the French Culture in the Seventeenth Century," *Canadian Historical Review* 55, 3 (September 1974): 272.

[34] Dickason,.77

[35] Michel de Montaigne, "Des Cannibales" Livre I, Chap. 31. *Les Essais*, (1572-1588), ed. Claude Pinganaud, (Paris: Arlea, 2002), 157.

his sons. Thus, in an effort to explain the existence of unknown populations, it was important to formulate theories that would integrate well with this accepted concept. Many different ones were proposed according to the faith and interest of the person who developed them. Indigenous peoples had to be connected to the rest of humanity. One explanation was that they had to have arrived in this unknown continent as a result of migration or shipwreck.

Another concept that appeared simultaneously was a new model of geographical parallelism developed in opposition to a more traditional one where Europe or Judea was perceived as a centrifugal force expanding to all confines of the earth. Somehow, it was based on the theory of humours still prevailing at that time. Inspired by Hippocrates, the theory was expanded upon by the Greek physician Galen, in the second century. Galen's theory was that people had a different physical balance of humours according to where they were born. Therefore, people born at the same latitude shared certain specificities. Inhabitants of the Northern part of Europe were perceived as cold and damp, Africans were too hot and, very predictably, Greeks had the perfect balance.[36] Lescarbot, played on all levels and used genealogical connections and geographical analogy to justify a direct connection between the Mi'kmaq he encountered in Port Royal and the Gauls.[37] Initially as others before him, Lescarbot had argued that the Indigenous peoples of the New World were descendants of one of Noah's sons, Cham the cursed one, who had reached the far away land after the flood. However, this theory, which made outcasts of

[36] John M. Wilkins and Shaun Hill, *Food in the Ancient World* (Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 223. For perception of the body and the effect of humours in early modern world see, Trudy Eden, "Food, Assimilation, and the Malleability of the Human Body in Early Virginia," in *A centre of Wonders, The Body in Early America*. ed. Janet Moore Lindman, Michele Lise Tarter (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press., 2001), and Rebecca Earle,""If You Eat Their Food…" Diets and Bodies in the Early Colonial Spanish America," *American Historical Review*, (June 2010): 693.

[37] Lestringant, "Les Indiens Antérieurs," 59, and Pioffet, cited note 18 chap.1 "Gaulois et Souriquois," 39.

the Indigenous people, did not serve well the author's intention. He abandoned this vision and, going further than his predecessors, claimed that Noah himself could have founded Gaul and discovered America.[38]

With impressive effort, Lescarbot tried to convince his readers that there was a direct genealogical link between the Mi'kmaq, whom he called *Souriquois*, and the Gauls, the ancestors of the French. He attempted to create links between the Mi'kmaq and the Gauls by finding similarities in their customs: their long hair, their physical fitness and robustness, their hospitality and their way of eating, sitting on the floor on pelts. He was careful not to omit their common ritual of scalping the enemy.[39] He argued that both shared "a frugal and rustic way of life which protected them from the corruption of the big cities."[40] Lescarbot described the Mi'kmaq as "allaigres et dispos comme nos anciens Gaulois et Allemans qui par leur agilité donnoient beaucoup de peines aux armées romaines,"[41] clearly connecting the Gauls and the Germans as those who had fought bravely against the Roman army. To support his claims on the Germanic tribes, Lescarbot referred repeatedly to Tacitus throughout his text.[42] The French and Mi'kmaq, based on a similar logic of geographical parallelism, were thus closely linked to the Gauls and the Germanic tribes described in Tacitus' *Germania.* In his association of the Mi'kmaq to both the Gauls and the Germans, Lescarbot, in a very diplomatic way, was

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[38] Pioffet "Gaulois et Souriquois," 34.

[39] Ibid., 34-37, Pioffet provides extensive examples of parallels made by Lescarbot between the Souriquois and Gaulois.

[40] Ibid., 31.

[41] Ibid., 37 quoting Marc Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, livre VI (Paris : Adrien Perier, 1618), 841.

[42] In *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France* Tacite is mentionned 14 times. While Lescarbot does not directly refered to *Germania* his mentions of Tacitus is always in relation to information about the *'Allemans.'*

able to please both the romanistes and the germanistes readers and aptly stayed out of the controversy.

Any differences between the Mi'kmaq and the Gauls Lescarbot attributed to the effect of a too long isolation.[43] Indeed, to support his theory, he used the experience of the marquis de La Roche, who tried to install a settlement on l'Ile du Sable near Nova Scotia in 1598, leaving around fifty men on the island dependent on yearly shipment of provisions. In 1603, the last eleven surviving men were brought in front of Henri IV in a state of *dénuement* total, dressed with skins of *loup marins*. Lescarbot argued that they represented what had happened to the Indigenous population, who after living for centuries in total isolation from civilization had turned to a savage state. Therefore, the Indigenous people were not inherently savages, but they had become like that because of isolation.[44] He used this example to prove the possibility of reeducation. His letter to Henri IV is explicit that New France is but an extension of the "old" one and its inhabitants are related cousins more than willing to recuperate the civilization they have lost.[45] Eventually, he would provide a different perspective using an argument similar to the one used by Tacitus in *Germania*; that the Mi'kmaq and the other tribes he encountered had specific qualities because, like the old Germanic tribes, they had not been corrupted by civilization.

Thus, Lescarbot argued on two levels. The Mi'kmaq were linked to the French people not only because they lived on the same level of latitude but also because they had the same ancestor. Lescarbot's attempt to create a definite '*air de famille'* between the American Natives and the French was surely not totally disinterested and served a

[43] Lescarbot, Livre III, Chap XXXII.
[44] Lestringant, 61.
[45] Pioffet, "Gaulois et Souriquois." 25.

precise expansionist and political goal. Let us not be naïve: Lescarbot probably did not feel strong family ties with his newly rediscovered cousins. Pioffet argues that his theory served to legitimize the French political claim on the territory he conveniently called "*la France Nouvelle*"[46], his goal being to justify the colonization of this particular part of America by the French in an attempt to bring new subjects to the French King.

Subjects were indeed quite important at that time when it was said that "la grandeur des rois se mesure par le nombre de ses sujets."[47] The more subjects a king had, the more power he had. As argued by Deslandres, the idea that France saw in the New World unoccupied lands ready to be taken is a myth. France not only recognized that those lands were controlled by people but were in fact quite happy about it because, in opposition to England, France did not want empty lands. As Catholics wanted more souls, France wanted more subjects. Of course by expanding the numbers of subjects, a must at that time for political power, the king automatically got hold of land, as the land of subjects in fact belonged to the Crown. However, there is a definite openness in the approach of the French. "Nos garçons se marieront à vos filles, & nous ne ferons plus qu'un seul peuple."[48] Champlain's wish that a new race, subject of the King of France, would be created through intermarriage between Frenchmen and Indigenous women demonstrated a will for interaction more than one of submission.

It also revealed the importance of one's religious faith compared to origins. Indigenous peoples becoming subjects of the French crown through baptism were

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[46] Ibid., 39.

[47] Sébastien Le Pestre de Vauban quoted in Deslandres in "…alors nos garçons se marieront à vos filles, & nous ne ferons plus qu'un seul peuple" Religion, genre et déploiement de la souveraineté française en Amérique aux XVIe-XVIIe siècles, une problématique," *Revue d'Histoire d'Amérique Française* vol 66, no 1 été, (2012); 5.

[48] Samuel de Champlain, Quoted by Deslandres, in " '…alors nos garçons se marieront," 5.

automatically exempted from the tax imposed on foreigners known as "*le droit d'aubaine.*"[49] Thus, state and religion were intrinsic elements of French citizenship. Deslandres gives different examples of what she calls "*integration réussie*" where Indigenous men married to French women integrated well into the French society without suffering from racism. She illustrates, through those different examples, how there were no taboos in marrying Indigenous people to white women and that, once established in France their lineage was recognized. "Les inégalités se pensent moins en fonction de la couleur de la peau qu'en fonction du statut, (libre plutôt qu'esclave, chrétien plutôt que non chrétien, noble plutôt que roturier.)"[50] Once converted to Catholicism, Indigenous peoples despite their American origin were considered subjects of the King of France.

Thus, while Lescarbot was certainly an opportunist, his testimonies demonstrate an openness towards the other, typical of the French approach. Indeed, despite their commercial and political agenda, the French, unlike the English and especially the Spanish, did not come as conquerors. Vanita Seth argues that the Spanish, Dutch, English, and French each had very distinctive approaches to assert their claims in the New World. While the English justified their authority by the possession of the lands they appropriated, the Spanish required "neither structures nor ceremonies but the observance of protocol"[51] to justify their claims. They demanded conversion from the Indigenous peoples at the point of the sword, offering them the choice between

[49] Deslandres "…alors nos garçons" 76
[50] Ibid.,13.
[51] Seth, 32. From notes [51] to [53] Seth refers directly to Patricia Seed's work *Ceremonies of Possession: Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Christianity and war.[52] Conversely, the French put importance on an interaction with the inhabitants of the land they "discovered" and believed in the necessity of "acquiring native consent." [53] They wanted to establish friendly relations with the different populations they encountered. In the early years of the colony, this desire was shared by the coastal indigenous populations who had already established trade networks with French (and especially Basque) fishermen.[54]

Thomas Pfeiffer, author of *Marc Lescarbot: pionnier de la Nouvelle-France* (2012),[55] believes that Lescarbot definitively recognized humanity in the Mi'kmaq. While still using the term "savage," the French lawyer argued that it was totally inadequate. Indeed, Lescarbot wrote that it was an abusive word they did not merit: "si nous les appelons communement "Sauvages," c'est par un mot abusif et qu'ilz ne méritent pas."[56] Not only did he see them as "autant humains que nous,"[57] but he also affirmed that "Ilz ne sont point niais …ilz parlent avec beaucoup de jugement & de raison."[58] He described their beauty and praised their intelligence. Ter Ellington, in his work the *Myth of the Noble Savage* (2001) sees Marc Lescarbot as the father of that myth: a title which he claims was wrongly given to eighteenth-century thinkers like Lafitau and Rousseau.[59]

However, while Ellingson believes that Lescarbot is at the origin of the concept of the 'Noble Savage' applied to the inhabitants of the New World, he argues that

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[52] Ibid., 33.
[53] Ibid., 31.
[54] Ter Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001),14.
[55] Pfeiffer, *Marc Lescarbot: pionnier de la Nouvelle-France* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2012).
[56] Marc Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France* (Paris: Adrian Perier, 1618), "Livre 1," 8. https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=Lb1CgBiV8_oC&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&hl=fr&pg=GBS.PA1
[57] Ibid., "Livre 1," 8.
[58] Ibid., "Livre 1," 7-8.
[59] Ellingson, xiii-xxii.

Lescarbot uses the term 'noble' in a legal sense. Being a lawyer, he associated the hunting *mode de vie* of the Indigenous people to the hunting prerogative reserved to nobles in Europe. This is hardly convincing, and does not seem to serve any purpose. While it is true that the French lawyer saw in hunting a most noble exercise, affirmations like "Ilz sont vraiment Nobles n'ayant aucune action qui ne soit généreuse,"[60] and "ains le coeur vraiment noble et généreux"[61] relates more to the morality of the Mi'kmaq. As Tacitus had done with the virtuous Germanic barbarians in *Germania*, he acknowledged in their '*noblesse*,' an initial stage of purity uncorrupted by civilization, a connection Ellingson fails to recognize. Indeed, Lescarbot frequently referred to Tacitus in his *Histoire de la Nouvelle France,* especially in Livre VI, in which he described "Les moeurs, coutumes & façons de vivre des Indiens Occidentaux de la Nouvelle France, compares à celle des anciens peuples de pardeça & particulièrement de ceux qui sont en même parallele & degree."[62] This fact is overlooked by Ellingson.

Similarly, Marie Christine Pioffet, in "Marc Lescarbot sur les traces de Pline l'Ancien" (2000), describes the many links existing between *L'Histoire de la Nouvelle France* and Pliny's *Natural History* without taking into account the many references made to Tacitus in Lescarbot's text. While she argues that Lescarbot described a New World full of promises and exempted of all the failings of Europe, she does not discuss his references to Tacitus.[63] Her focus is on Pliny's text, one that Lescarbot used to counterbalance his own observations, repeatedly taking care to refute the Roman author's affirmations.

[60] Lescarbot, "Livre VI," 903.
[61] Ibid., "Livre IV," 586.
[62] Lescarbot, Livre VI, 44.
[63] Marie-Christine Pioffet, "Marc Lescarbot sur les trace de Pline l'Ancien," *Renaissance & Reformation/Renaissance & Réforme* XXIV, 3 (2000), 12.

Arguing that there were none of "ces hommes prodigieux desquels Pline fait mention"[64] Lescarbot wanted to make sure his readers knew that he did not believe in the myths and monsters described in Pliny's *Natural History.* We can assume that Lescarbot's rejection of imaginative creatures related not only to Pliny's creations but also to the Wild Man, which he never mentions. However, the archaeologist Robert McGhee in "Aboriginalism and the Problems of Indigenous Archaeology" published in 2008, makes a definite link between Lescarbot's work and both *Germania* and *Agricola* in which Tacitus idealizes the virtues of barbarians despite his "repugnance of their sloth and disorder."[65] The *Anciens Allemans* [66] to whom Lescarbot compared the *Souriquois* referred to none other than Tacitus' *Germanii*.

This use of comparisons conforms to a pattern of the time. Indeed, the historian Anthony Grafton argues, like Seth, that during the seventeenth century, the newcomers relied on the world they knew through the classical and medieval literature to analyze the Indigenous peoples they encountered. After having examined the influence and continuity of classical literature on the early modern world's imagery in many of his works,[67] Grafton concludes that Tacitus, whom he believes has influenced humanists like Hugo Grotius (he does not mention Lescarbot) in their perception of the inhabitants of the newly discovered world, is "the intellectual great-grandfather of the concept of the Noble Savage."[68]

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[64] Lescarbot quoted in Pioffet, "Marc Lescarbot sur les trace de Pline l'Ancien,"10.

[65] Robert McGhee, "Aboriginalism and the Problems of Indigenous Archaeology," *American Antiquity* Vol. 73, No. 4 (Oct., 2008): 585.

[66] Lescarbot, "Livre,VI," 791.

[67] Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds Ancient Texts The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discove*ry (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992). *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient Books and Renaissance Readers* (Ann Arbour: University of Michigan Press, 1997), and *World made by Words* (Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 2009).

[68] Grafton, *New worlds, Ancient Texts.* 43.

The Dutch philosopher Hugo Grotius in *De origine gentium Americanarum dissertatio* (*Dissertation on the origin of the American peoples*) published in 1642, frequently referred to Tacitus seeing many existing similarities between the Indigenous peoples of the New world and the Germanic tribes described in *Germania*. He went as far as finding connections between the German language and many Indigenous dialects.[69] However, it is in Lescarbot's work that these references first appeared. He is the first to have proposed definite links between the Germanic tribes described by the classical author and the Mi'kmaq he encountered in Acadia. Recognizing this fact thus confirms that, as argued by McGhee, Ellingson, and Gilbert Chinard before them in 1934 in *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la littérature française au XVIIe siècle et XVIIIe siècle*, the association of the virtuous Barbarian of antiquity with the Noble Savage of the New World is one that predates the Enlightenment.

In fact, this discussion around the virtues of the newly discovered populations compared to civilized Europeans had already been present among philosophers of the sixteenth century. Faced with the new discoveries they had to take "confrontation to otherness seriously enough to realize that what passes for reason here is but folly there and that the judgements of reason are not universal, but particular, and expressive of custom, not timeless truth."[70] Las Casas' *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, in which he denounced the cruelty perpetrated against the 'Indios' had been translated in French in 1582 as *Tyrannies et Cruautés des Espagnols perpétrées en Indes*

[69] Gilbert Chinard, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la littérature française au XVIIe siècle et XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: E. Droz, 1934), 140.

[70] Michael T. Ryan, "Assimilating New Worlds in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* Vol. 23, No. 4 (Oct., 1981): 520.

Occidentales.[71] Montaigne with his "*Des cannibales*" written in the 1570s had instigated a reflection on the concept of barbarism. "Nous pouvons bien les appeler barbares…nous, qui les surpassons en toute sorte de barbarie."[72] Using reports from travellers depicting acts of barbarism witnessed in the New World, Montaigne wanted to denounce those committed in France during the Wars of Religion. In his opinion the term savage was used wrongly to describe a natural state and should be applied to what had been tainted by civilization. In another of his essays entitled "*des Coches*," Montaigne continued his reflection and questioned the values of the occidental civilization which he believed had brought such ills to the New World that it had caused the ruin of its people.[73] Again we find a similarity with Tacitus' critique of the Roman civilization he lived in.

We know from his references that Lescarbot read Tacitus. Did he read Montaigne? Henri-Jean Martin in his studies on book publication in seventeenth-century France argues that Montaigne's published work had "une brillante carrière de librairie,"[74] especially in the period from 1598 to 1600.[75] After the death of the philosopher, his *Essais* were constantly reprinted and reedited by his *protégée* Marie de Gournay, a *femme de lettres* who also produced translations of classical authors, among them, Tacitus. Could the fact that De Gournay was known as an ardent defender of the Jesuits,

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[71]Bartoloméo Las Casas, *Tyrannies et Cruautés des Espagnols perpétrées en Indes Occidentales* (Paris: Guillaume Julien, 1582). https://books.google.ca/books?id=cWJUAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA116&lpg=PA116&dq=Tyrannies+et+cruauté+des+espagnols&source=bl&ots=5BVO-yuA9L&sig=kJv_Achq1zL_Pl-dAhTs2ObGKCU&hl=fr&sa=X&ei=WoY2VbrFCcr4yQS1q4DYBg&ved=0CEsQ6AEwBw#v=onepage&q=Tyrannies%20et%20cruauté%20des%20espagnols&f=false

[72] Montaigne, "Des Cannibales," 161.

[73] Montaigne, "Des Coches" *Les Essais*, (1572-1588), ed. Claude Pinganaud (Paris: Arlea, 2002), 658.

[74] Martin, 50.

[75] Ibid., 75.

(her name appeared a few time in the *AntiCoton* pamphlet)[76] have rendered Montaigne's work less appealing to Lescarbot? It is difficult to know. As Marie de Gournay counted among her protectors Marie de Medicis and Madame de Guercheville, it would have been difficult for such an ambitious lawyer as Lescarbot to ignore her.

Montaigne's *Essais* reveals the interest in texts from antiquity that was prevalent among the intellectuals of his time. The philosopher referred in his work to an extensive list of classical authors, among them Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Juvenal, Seneca, and Cicero to name just a few. In his book III he admits his fascination for Tacitus,[77] one that he shared with other humanists like his professor Marc-Antoine Muret, his friend Étienne de La Boetie and the Flemish Justus Lipsius. Both Muret and Lipsius were recognized as ardent defenders of Tacitus and had produced at the time many editions, translations and comments of his work.[78] The works of the first-century CE Roman senator and historian were indeed quite popular at the time. He was "by far the most frequently printed classical historian in French translation."[79] In a recent article published in 2011, the seventeenth-century literature specialist Delphine Amstutz provides detailed and quantitative information on the publications of Tacitus' work. She affirms that between 1450 and 1700, 164 editions of *Germania* and 152 of the *Annals*, as well as *circa* 110 commentaries of Tacitus' work were published in Europe during the seventeenth

[76] Mario Schiff, *La Fille d'alliance de Montaigne, Marie de Gournay* (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1910), 33-38.

[77] Montaigne, "L'Art de Conférer" Livre III, Chap. 8. *Les Essais*, (1572-1588) ed. Claude Pinganaud, (Paris: Arlea, 2002), 681.

[78] Lucie Claire, "Marc-Antoine Muret, Lecteur de Tacite, autour de l'Oratorio II, XIV 1580," *Camenae*, n° 1 (janvier 2007). Also Martin, 24.

[79] Jacob Soll, "Amelot de la Houssaye and the Tacitean Tradition in France," *Translation and Literature* Vol. 6, No. 2 (1997): 187.

century.[80] She also notes that while many of those editions were printed in Latin, the vernacular language into which Tacitus' work was more frequently translated was French. She refers to Claude Fauchet's translation of the whole work of Tacitus in 1582, Jean Baudoin's *Les Oeuvres de Cornelius Tacitus et de Velleius Paterculus*, published by J. Gesselin in 1610, and Rodolphe Le Maistre's *Le Tibère François ou les Six premier Livres des Annales de Cornelius Tacitus*, printed in Paris by Robert Estienne in 1616, and followed by another edition in 1636, to demonstrate the pervasiveness of Tacitus in France at that the time.[81] She argues that this enthusiasm continued till the end of the century and culminated with Amelot de la Houssaye's publication, in 1684, of *Tibère: Discours Politique sur Tacite*, and in 1686, of *La morale de Tacite, De la flatterie*. However, Tacitus' popularity was at its height at the end of the sixteenth century and regained such extensive popularity only later during the eighteenth century among the enlightened philosophers like Montesquieu.[82]

In the second part of the sixteenth century, Tacitus' *Annals* had become a topic of controversy and simultaneously the inspiration for a new political thought known as Tacitism.[83] Supposedly rediscovered in the previous century in the monastery of Monte Cassino by Boccaccio, (the author of the *Decameron*), the *Annals* relates the life of Roman Emperors from the beginning of Tiberius' rule in 14 CE to the end Nero's rule in

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[80] Delphine Amstutz, "Mécène et Séjan. Sur la Figure du Favori au XVIIe Siècle," *Dix-septième siècle* no 251(2011/2): 334.

[81] Amstutz, 335, note 6.

[82] Volpilhac-Auger, 9.

[83] Importants works on Tacitism are Giuseppe Toffanin's *Machiavelli e il "Tacitismo"*, *La "politica storica" al tempo della Controriforma* (Padova: Angelo Draghi, 1921). Toffanin is the first to have coined the expression Tacitism. More recent works on the topic are Peter Burke's "Tacitism, Scepticism, and Reason of State," and Lucie Claire's "Marc-Antoine Muret, Lecteur de Tacite." For a later period Étienne Thuau, *Raison d'État et pensée politique à l'époque de Richelieu*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Albin Michel, 2000) and Volpilhac-Auger, *Tacite en France de Montesquieu à Chateaubriand*, all previously cited.

68 CE. It is believed that the depiction of the ruthless ruler Tiberius, who did not hesitate to get rid of opposition to secure his position as Emperor, inspired Machiavelli when writing *The Prince.* Proposing the principle of 'Reason of State' this work arrived at a propitious time in Europe, when the division between secular and religious power, the infancy of the concept of nation, and the discourses on absolute monarchy were providing vivid discussions among the intellectual elite. However, in 1559, the Catholic Church had placed Machiavelli's work on the *Index librorum prohibitorum*. It was then that intellectuals attempted "to hide Machiavelli under the mask of Tacitus and, and his prince under the figure of Tiberius."[84] Tacitus' work thus served as a palimpsest to *The Prince*, which increased its already strong popularity among European rulers and their counselors.[85] In *The Reason of State*, published in 1589, the Jesuit Giovani Botero denounced Machiavelli's amoral political approach and complained that Machiavelli and Tacitus' works were discussed in all "les cours des Rois et des Grand Princes" of Europe.[86] Indeed, while by the end of the fifteenth century, the works of Tacitus were an inherent part of the European *res publica literaria,* by the seventeenth century, with the spread of absolutist rule, they had become a "virtual obsession."[87]

In this time when European explorers were discovering a new inhabited world, Tacitus' more recently rediscovered work *Germania,* which is considered the first 'serious' ethnographical work, was providing a new model of relations between the 'civilized' and 'barbarians'. However, *Germania* did not only serve to reflect on a notion

[84] Ronald Mellor, *Tacitus'Annals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 199.

[85] Daniel Kapust, "Tacitus and Political Thought," *A Companion to Tacitus*, ed. Victoria Emma Pagàn (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 510.

[86] Stéphane Bonnet, "Botero Machiavellien ou l'invention de la Raison d'État," *P.U.F.|Les études philosophiques*, no 66/3 (2003): 315-316. Quoting Giovanni Botero, *Della ragion di Stato, con tre libri delle cause della grandezza delle città, due aggiunte e un discorso sulla popolazione di Roma*, (Turin: UTET, 1948.)

[87] Krebs, 15-25.

of otherness. Whereas many inspired by the *Annales* were discussing the morality of the political approaches advocated in *The Prince*, others were looking at *Germania* to establish the genealogy of the French nation. Thus, Tacitus' works had a quasi-ubiquitous place in the discussions of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century France, a time of emergent nationalism.[88] It seems unlikely that educated men such as Lescarbot or Biard could have been unfamiliar with what was then 'common knowledge.' [89]

[88] Mellor, *Tacitus, The Classical Heritage*.

[89] Many scholars have looked into the importance of Tacitus during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Beside the cited above works of Giuseppe Toffanin's *Machiavelli e il "Tacitismo,"* Peter Burke's "Tacitism, Scepticism, and Reason of State," and Kenneth C. Schellhase's *Tacitus in Renaissance Political Thought*, J.H. Whitfield's, "Livy > Tacitus," *Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 1500-1700*, ed. R.R. Bolgar (London: Cambridge University Press 1976), provides interesting perspectives on the influence of Tacitus during the Renaissance. Etienne Thuau's more recent *Raison d'État et pensée politique à l'époque de Richelieu*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Albin Michel, 2000) shows the continuity in the influence of Tacitus works into the seventeenth-century French politics.

3 Biard's *Relations*, an echo of *Germania*

While Lescarbot has been commended for his openness and favorable depiction of the Mi'kmaq, Biard has generally been depicted as a stern and obtuse man who looked down upon the Indigenous peoples he encountered, describing them as coming from a "race [which] consists of men who are hardly above the beasts."[1] Was the Jesuit duality described by Chinard, which allied religious and humanist modes of thinking, totally absent in Biard when he wrote about his encounters with the Mi'kmaq, at the same time and place as Lescarbot? Could his vision be so different because he was a Jesuit, or is this a perception imposed by scholars influenced by the "Black Legend" and the negative traits attributed to those who would be referred to in North American historiography as Black Robes?

According to Thomas E. Jessett, this term, which essentially brings to mind the Jesuit missionaries, initially appeared in the 1820s in the Red River settlement where it was used to distinguish Anglican priests from the Roman Catholic priests who were then called 'Long Robes'. Jessett argues that the term was transferred to the Jesuits only when they became more present after the closing of Protestant missions in Oregon.[2] The dark connotation of the name probably seemed appropriate for the Jesuits. After all the General of the Society has been and is still designated by proponents of conspiracy

[1] William M. Clements, "The Jesuit Foundations of Native North American Literary Studies," *American Indian Quarterly* Vol. 18, No. 1 (Winter, 1994): 46. And Lucien Campeau, *Monumenta Novae Franciae, Établissement à Québec (1616 – 1634)*. Vol. 2, (Rome Québec: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu/Les Presses de L'Université Laval, 1979), Doc 4, 9.

[2] Thomas E. Jessett, "Origin of the Term "Black Robe,"" *Oregon Historical Quarterly* Vol. 69, No. 1 (Mar., 1968): 50.

theories as the "Black Pope."[3] Mary Francis Cusack, an Anglican nun who, after converting to Catholicism, returned to Anglicanism, participated in the propagation of this myth. In *Black Pope: A History of the Jesuits* published in 1896, she openly attacked the Jesuits arguing that the General of the Society of Jesus, to whom she referred as the "Black Pope," controlled the Pope and, through him, the whole Roman Catholic Church.[4]

Libels of the Jesuits are not just a phenomenon of the nineteenth century. They were common since the creation of the order, the first being Étienne Pasquier's *Catéchisme des Jésuites* published in 1602. Soon after the assassination of Henri IV, Pierre Coton was attacked in *l'Anticoton*. It is thus not surprising that Biard, as one of the first Jesuits to participate in a settlement in Acadia, was also highly criticized in an anonymous pamphlet. The *Factum du Procès entre Jean de Biencourt et les PP. Biard et Massé,* a legal brief intended to publicly expose one side in a court case, was in fact an anti-Jesuit pamphlet. These *mémoires judiciaires*, which became a very popular literary genre in the eighteenth century, offered the opportunity to their authors to use court cases to publicize their political causes and disseminate their grievances.[5] This anonymous *Factum* provided a very negative depiction of Biard who is described in it as a drunkard and a glutton who eats ham and butter on fasting days and drinks wine till he is sick.[6] This portrait of Biard reminds us more of the Rabelaisian image of a fat monk than of a stern Black Robe. The text is dated 1614, and both the author and editor are anonymous. However, Campeau attributes the authorship to Poutrincourt, who he believes might have

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[3] *Warning Illuminati*, https://warningilluminati.wordpress.com/the-most-powerful-man-in-the-world-the-black-pope/

[4] Mary Francis Cusack, *Black Pope: A History of the Jesuits* (London: Marshall Russell & co Ltd., 1896), https://ultimatecause.files.wordpress.com/2009/08/the-black-pope-final.pdf. Nowadays, Extensive anti-Jesuit litterature can be found on the web.

[5] Sara Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993),11.

[6] Campeau *MNF*, Vol. 1, Doc. 137, 335-336, 338.

been helped by Lescarbot.[7] This representation of Biard is in direct contradiction with the portrait of the priest provided by Campeau who describes him as "un homme de grande austérité quelque peu excessive même."[8] Confronted by these conflicting affirmations, we need to further analyse the texts left by the missionary in order to get a better impression of who he was.

Few historians have showed interest in Pierre Biard and his *Relation*. Unlike Massé who, after his first experience in Acadia, managed to come back in 1625 to participate in missions near Québec,[9] Biard never returned to New France and, thus, is linked only to the history of Acadia.[10] Because Acadia and its history have often been perceived as a prelude and not an integral part of the discourse about the French settlement, most scholars have directed their attention at other members of the order like Le Jeune, Brébeuf and Lalemant who participated in the later missions and were seen as more central to the settlement in Nouvelle-France. However, Biard's accounts of his experience in Acadia have the advantage of being one of the first depictions of the encounter between the Frenchmen and the diverse Indigenous groups of the region. What we know of Biard's experience comes mainly from his *Relation de la Nouvelle France, de ses terres, naturel du païs & de ses habitants; item du voyage des Pères Jésuites ausdictes contrées, & de ce qu'ils y ont faict jusques à leur prinse par les Anglois*.[11]

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[7] Ibid., 321.

[8] Ibid., 336, note 54.

[9] Enemond Massé waited eleven years in France before being granted permission to come back to Canada. He died in 1646 in Sillery near Québec where the Jesuits had established a Montagnais reduction. Campeau, *Biographical Dictionary*, 288-289.

[10] Pierre Biard, despite his wish to come back to Canada died in 1622 in Avignon, France. Campeau, *Biographical Dictionary*, 62.

[11] Pierre Biard, *Relation de la Nouvelle-France, de ses terres, naturel du païs & de ses habitants; item du voyage des Pères Jésuites ausdictes contrées, & de ce qu'ils y ont faict jusques à leur prinse par les Anglois.* (Lyon: Louys Muguet, rue Mercière. 1616).

While included in both Thwaites and Campeau's edition of the Jesuit *Relations*, Biard's text is not included in the collection printed by Cramoisy in Paris, from 1632 until 1673, under the title of *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la mission de la Compagnie de Jésus au Pays de la Nouvelle France*. Biard's *Relation* was published much earlier in 1616 in Lyon. According to Carile, Biard's account served as the base for the other *Relations*. In his opinion, Biard "inaugure un genre historico-littéraire qui en s'enrichissant et se perfectionnant, durera jusqu'en 1673 et constituera un témoignage anthropologique très important sur l'affrontement entre l'occident catholique et les cultures amérindiennes."[12] However, texts such as the *Relations* can be misleading and have to be approached with caution.

Indeed, there has been much contention among historians about the historical validity of the writings produced by the different missionaries. In 1996, Luca Codignola, compared the two most complete versions of the Jesuit *Relations*: Thwaites's multi volume edited work known, as *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Document…1610-1791*, published in the late nineteenth century (from 1896 to 1901), and Lucien Campeau's extensive *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, published from 1967 to 1994, which comprises seven volumes covering the years 1602-1650. Codignola's conclusion was that Campeau's work, while affected by the religious bias of its author (Campeau was a Jesuit), offers a better grasp on the writings produced by the missionaries than the ubiquitous Thwaites' edition, which has been the principal source for English-speaking historians since its publication. Codignola argues that Thwaites' edition is the work of multi-disciplinary translators who did not necessarily properly understand the texts

[12] Carile, 40-41.

written essentially in French, Latin, and Italian and often worked from already translated documents and copies of copies.[13]

Codignola's article echoes "Problem of Prejudice in the Thwaites' Edition of the *Jesuit Relations,*" written in 1995 by Maureen Korp whose background is classics and religious history. While Korp and Codignola agree that the Thwaites' edition represents "a minefield of misinformation, perhaps even disinformation,"[14] Korp goes further and reveals the difficulties of analysing texts through translations, not only of language, but also of time. As contended by Umberto Eco in *Experience in Translation*, "every translator, even when trying to provide the flavour of a language and of a historical period, is in fact *modernizing* the source to some extent."[15] The meaning of words evolves and can take different connotations through time and culture. Words like *sauvage* and *noble* had and still have many nuances which can be difficult for a translator to interpret. Inaccurate messages can thus emerge from bad or subjective translations and interpretations.

In 2011, Carolyn Podruchny and Kathryn Magee Labelle, both specialists of Native-newcomer relations, entered this discussion on another level with "Jean de Brébeuf and the Wendat Voices of Seventeenth-Century New France." Unlike Korp, they appear less preoccupied with the semantic problems of the translators of the Jesuits and more with the issue of the Jesuits as translators of a civilization, difficult for them to understand, and therefore problematic to explain. Podruchny and Labelle situate

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[13] Luca Codignola, "The Battle is Over, Campeau's *Monumenta* vs. Thwaites's *Jesuit Relations*, 1602-1650," *Native American Studies* 10:2 (1996): 7.

[14] Korp, 261.

[15] Umberto Eco, *Experiences in Translation*, trans. Alastair Mc Ewen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 22.

themselves between those who, like Allan Greer, believe "that the Jesuits' writings maintained their integrity and can be trusted as reliable sources,"[16] and those who, like Lucien Campeau, argue that the missionaries, while attempting to produce honest reports, could have been misled in their understanding of the ways of the Indigenous peoples, or could simply have censured themselves "de peur de scandaliser."[17] Podruchny and Labelle believe that the texts were edited to some degree, but maintain that "the intentions of the original authors can be detected through careful use of the *Relations*."[18] How can we define "a careful use"? Knowing, as stated by Paschoud, that the modifications brought to the texts could come from "la simple transcription à la reformulation complète, en passant par l'annotation, le commentaire, l'amplification,"[19] the resulting product becomes similar to "une partition a plusieurs voix"[20] from which it is difficult to get a clear message.

Nevertheless, the *Relations* have been an essential source for historians and anthropologists in their search for an appreciation of the encounter between the French newcomers and the first inhabitants of Nouvelle-France; they provide extensive description of many elements of the Indigenous culture. However, more recently the Jesuit *Relations* have been re-examined by some historians, for the underlying message, rather than the factual information they provide. As argued by Gilbert Chinard, in *l'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la littérature française au XVII^e^ et au XVIII^e^ siècle,* it is important to remember, when analysing the *Relations*, that they were meant for public

[16] Carolyn Podruchny and Kathryn Magee Labelle, "Jean de Brébeuf and the Wendat Voices of Seventeenth-Century New France," *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* 34.1-2, Winter-Spring/hiver-printemps, (2011): 99.
[17] Ibid., 99.
[18] Ibid.,100.
[19] Paschoud, 7.
[20] Ibid.

reading as "livres de circonstance et de propagande"[21] and that it is consequently very difficult to get a proper idea of the personal vision the authors had of the Indigenous peoples they described.[22] In "Aborder les Relations jésuites de la Nouvelle France (1632-1672): enjeux et perspectives,"[23] Adrien Paschoud argues that, since 1980, many scholars have detached themselves from both the 'mutilating *a priori*' tainted by the anti-Jesuit and anti-religious propaganda that had marked interpretations of the *Relations*[24] and the missionary apology produced by Jesuits themselves. He believes research, which lately has evolved toward a more global and comprehensive assessment on the role of the Jesuits in many aspects of the early modern world society, has provided interesting new perspectives on their interaction with others. Paschoud refers to Stephen Li's *Stratégies missionnaires des jésuites français en Nouvelle-France et en Chine* au XVIIe siècle, (2001), Luke Clossey's *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions*, and Frédéric Tinguely's "Le monde multipolaire des missionnaires jésuites" both published in 2008 as good examples of this trend.

As Pashoud argues, the goal is not to refute the negative impact of the European conquest but to recognize the dynamism of the cultural exchanges that have prevailed between the two civilizations. Thus, he criticizes Carole Blackburn's approach in *Harvest of Souls* as one essentially influenced by Foucault's work on domination. He argues that her reading of the *Relations* is "toute entière inféodée au filtre européo-centré des jésuites"[25] and imparts a static quality to the Jesuit approach, negating any type of

[21] Chinard 138.
[22] Ibid.,139.
[23] Paschoud, 1-11.
[24] Ibid., 1.
[25] Ibid., 4.

acculturation or dynamism of interaction.[26] The historian Dominique Deslandres does not believe the Jesuits were capable of any form of acculturation. She argues that this perception is a superimposition of our modern uncertainty on a faith of the past. Indeed, she contends that the Catholic missionary of the time "sait; il ne doute pas, il est convaincu d'avoir raison."[27] In her opinion, the Jesuit *accomodacio* is but a tactic to charm and manipulate the 'Other' to achieve conversion. According to Deslandres, the Jesuits' religious convictions could not be contaminated by any form of acculturation, as she argues that they were "incorruptible."[28] This generalization denies the Jesuits any form of personal agency and leaves no place for the different personalities of the individual missionaries. The quality and strength of someone's faith is extremely difficult to judge. While many Jesuits were certainly incorruptible, some among them reflected on their European and Christian values when they came into contact with the different civilizations. Furthermore, while as a Society they shared some general characteristics and a specificity to their approach, each of them was marked by his origins and personality. A good example is provided in Alan Greer's *Mohawk Saint,* in which he contrasts the accounts produced by the two Jesuits Claude Chauchetière and Pierre Cholenec on the life of Kateri Tekakwitha.[29] Indeed, while Chauchetière was deeply moved by the young Mohawk woman's spirituality and did not hesitate to acknowledge her sanctity, Cholenec had a more conservative approach, which prevented him from seeing more in Kateri Tekakwitha than just a "pious savage."[30]

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[26] Ibid., 6.
[27] Deslandres, "Entre persuasion et adhésion," 95 and 109.
[28] Ibid., 109.
[29] Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint, Catherine Tekawitha and the Jesuits* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
[30] Ibid., 23.

Deslandres' assertions are contrary to Paschoud's interpretations. The latter inspired by the works of both Richard White's, *The Middle Ground*, and Claude Reichler's, "Littérature et anthropologie. De la représentation à l'interaction dans une *Relation de la Nouvelle France* au XVIIe siècle,"[31] asserts that, in the encounter between Jesuits and Hurons, for example, the intersections of theological concepts resulted in a form of definite intercultural exchange, or as argued by Natalie Zemon Davies, into a "braided identity."[32] Erik R. Seeman's *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead* offers a similar portrayal of the interaction between the two cultures that found similitude and common ground in their funerary rituals.[33] Thus, the Jesuits remain a topic of contention among historians who interpret the testimonies through their specific lens.

Codignola, deplores that many historians still "accept the *Jesuit Relations* at face value" without going further in their research.[34] The classicists Haijo Westra, Milo Nikolic and Alison Mercer share a similar opinion and acknowledges the danger of taking everything *à la lettre.* Speaking of "mediated or filtered image,"[35] they also recognise that most texts produced by the Jesuits were edited, and even censored before being published. [36] However, they argue that reading the texts in the language they have been written in, and with some understanding of the classical background of the Jesuits,

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[31] Claude Reichler, "Littérature et anthropologie. De la représentation à l'interaction dans une Relation de la Nouvelle-France au XVIIe siècle," *L'Homme* 164 (2003): 37-56, and Richard White, *The Middle Ground. Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Region (1650- 1815)* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[32] Natalie Zemon Davis, "Connecting, Comparing, Braiding: Histories Through a Global Lens." Rountable with Natalie Zemon Davis, John Soske, Sean Mills and Candace Sobers, at *(De)Construction Sites: Reinterpreting Histories*, The 10th Annual Graduate Symposium, University of Toronto, (Feb. 2014).

[33] Erik R. Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead, Indian-European Encounters in Early North America* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2011).

[34] Codignola, "The Battle is Over," 4.

[35] Haijo Westra and Milo Nikolic, with Alison Mercer. "The Sources of the Earliest Latin Descriptions of Canada and First Nations by the Jesuits," *Fons Luminis I* (2009): 65.

[36] Ibid.,

one can achieve some insights into the mindset of the Jesuit authors. Indeed, Westra, Nikolic and Mercer, contend in "The Sources of the Earliest Latin Descriptions of Canada and First Nations by the Jesuits" published in 2009, that the classical references, which are obvious to classicists, would go unobserved by readers uneducated in Latin. Like Codignola, they point to the fact that most English-speaking Canadian historians have relied on Thwaites' English translation, which as discussed before, is not necessarily a very reliable source. As Classicists themselves, they affirm that "Latin, like any language, is encoded with cultural concepts and values [and] imports an entire frame of reference, as well as nuances of meaning which are lost in translation."[37] To those who would question why there are no explicit references to classical authors in the texts, they answer that the classical texts were such an intrinsic part of the Jesuit education that the latter often referred to them unconsciously or did not cite the authors, as it would appear redundant. Finally, they argue that, until recently, the early history of Canada has never been examined though the lens of the Latin language and that interaction and collaboration between historians and classicists is required to bring new light to those precious testimonies produced by the missionaries. It is interesting to note that most scholars who share this vision are not historians but scholars of literature, or philologists, more sensitive to the notion that "books talk to books."[38]

Nevertheless, the perception that "the Jesuits interpreted the 'New' World through the Ancient,"[39] parallels the assertion of both the political theorist Vanita Seth, and the historian Anthony Grafton, that during the early modern world, the vision of otherness

[37] Ibid., 62.

[38] Dr. Corrado Federici inspired by the novels of Umberto Eco principally based on intertextuality between works of literature.

[39] Westra, "The Sources of the Earliest Latin," 64.

was not built on opposition. They argue that the early explorers constructed their travel reports in a language of similitude and not in one of otherness, as has been proposed traditionally, relying on what they knew. Their writings were inspired by many ancient "ethnographical" works produced in classical antiquity, like Pliny's *Natural History* and Tacitus' *Germania*. In a world where reason was starting to be valued, Tacitus' work, noted for the absence of monsters and its apparently more 'scientific' approach, seemed very relevant for those who hoped that the New World would provide the chance to start anew. The Dominican Las Casas, in his effort to negate the vision of inferiority of the Amerindians proposed by earlier authors, had already made a link between the latter and the Germans described by Tacitus who served as a 'descriptive model' for his testimonies contained in *Historias de las Indias*.[40] Similarly, as argued by Chinard in 1934 "Quelques fussent leur préventions contre les sauvages, [les jésuites] n'avaient pu résister au plaisir de refaire à leur façon la Germanie de Tacite et de critiquer des mœurs contemporaines."[41] With the Counter Reformation came the will to go back to an original and pure Church. This desire has often been mistaken for a movement back towards medieval superstition. Like Tacitus, who longed for a return to the initial Roman virtue that had disappeared with the expansion of the Empire, the Jesuits saw, in the discovery of the New World, the occasion to recreate there a Church untainted by the ills of modern civilisation. *Germania* provided the necessary 'similar' reference and served as a template for the *Relations*.

Biard's *Relation* certainly seems inspired by Tacitus' *Germania*. Knowing the

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[40] Santa Arias, "Empowerment Through the writing of History, Bartolomé de Las Casas's Representation of the Other(s)" in *Early Images of the Americas, Transfer and Invention*, ed. Jerry M. Williams & Robert E. Lewis (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1993) 169-170.

[41] Chinard, 187.

prevalence of the Roman author's works in sixteenth-century France and its use in the *Ratio Studiorum*, Biard certainly had a good knowledge of Tacitus, an "auteur qu'il a dû étudier et enseigner au collège."[42] In *Germania*, Tacitus presents an upside down vision of the Roman world, a poor forested land inhabited by free-spirited people more interested in freedom than in gold and silver. Women play a significant role in the German society, and while some human sacrifices are performed, the people are hospitable and virtuous and remain untouched by the decadence that has plagued Rome since the fall of the Republic.[43] Indeed, Tacitus denounced the immorality of the Romans of his time by comparing their mores to those of the barbarian but virtuous Germanic people.[44] While he acknowledged specific faults like the "laziness and drunkenness" of the Germans, he recognized in them the "desirable qualities of simplicity and uprightness that the Romans had lost."[45] Similarly, Biard demonstrates throughout his *Relation* a form of 'cultural relativism,' using comparisons between Europeans and Indigenous people to criticize the ills of the European society of the time.

Like Tacitus', Biard's comparisons are often in favour of the 'Other.'[46] Denouncing the greed and cupidity of the Europeans the Jesuit affirms that "...ces bonnes gens sont loing de ceste maudite avarice que nous voyons entre nous,"[47] and that "ils ne sont nullement ingrats entr'eux et s'entredonnent tout."[48] The Mi'kmaq, in their absence of avarice, resemble the Germans who, Tacitus argues, "lack the necessary interest in

[42] Haijo Westra, "Les premières descriptions du Canada par le jésuite Pierre Biard. Du témoignage oculaire à sa réécriture," *Tangence* no 99, été (2012): 12.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Birley, xi-xxxix.
[46] Westra, "Les premières descriptions," 12.
[47] Pierre Biard, *La Relation de la Nouvelle-France*, in Campeau, *MNF.* Vol 1. Doc. 162, 505.
[48] Ibid., Doc 162, 491.

their possession or use."[49] (Germ. 5) However, they share the same laziness. Like the Germans who "when they are not waging war…occupy a little of their time hunting but a good deal more…without occupation:…devot[ing] themselves to sleeping and eating,"[50] (Germ.15) "cette nation [les Souriquois] est fort peu soucieuse de l'avenir, ainsi que tous les autre Américains, qui jouyssent du présent et ne sont poussez au travail que par la nécessité présente… ils font tabagie perpétuelle, chants, danses et harangues."[51]

There are also similarities between the Mi'kmaq women and the German ones who are responsible for many of the essential tasks. Indeed "the bravest and most warlike [German warriors] do nothing, as the care of the house, home, and fields is given over to the women." [52] (Germ.15) Likewise, in the New World, "les pauvrettes endurent toute la misère et fatigue de la vie."[53] Both groups of women are also praised for their modesty. In the New World, Biard claims that "les femmes et filles sont fort pudiques et honteuses,"[54] while Tacitus affirms that the women of the Germanic tribes "live a life of sheltered chastity, uncorrupted by the temptations of public shows or the excitements of banquets."[55] (Germ.19)

Another favorable comparison between the alleged barbarians and the more civilized observers can be seen in Tacitus' comment that among Germans "...the power of persuasion counts for more than the rights to give order,"[56] (Germ.11) and Biard's regret when he observes that between the Mi'kmaq "les petites offenses et querelles sont

[49] Tacitus, *Germany*, 39.
[50] Ibid., 45.
[51] Biard, *La Relation*, in Campeau, *MNF*, Vol 1. Doc. 162, 495-496.
[52] Tacitus, *Germany*, 45.
[53] Biard, *La Relation*, in Campeau, *MNF*, Vol 1. Doc. 162, 493.
[54] Ibid., 494.
[55] Tacitus, *Germany*, 47.
[56] Ibid., 43.

facilement apaisées…..Ce qui nous donnoit un grand créve-cœur, lors que nous tournions les yeux sur notre misère. Car de voir une assemblée de François sans reproches, mépris, envies et noises de l'un à l'autre, c'est autant difficile que de voir la mer sans ondes."[57]

Interestingly, Biard's *Relation de La Nouvelle France* is inspired not only by Tacitus' rhetoric in the *Germania* but also by its structure. Indeed, his *Relation* is constructed on a similar pattern as *Germania.* In both works the first chapters provide a description of the land and its natural resources, followed by specific ones on politics, military tactics and forms of government, ending with chapters on the social system, wedding, clothing, and religion. *Germania* is divided in two sections. The first, which depicts the "General Characteristics of the Land and its People,"[58] closely resemble in its structure the first eight chapters of Biard's *Relation*. Thus, while Biard never explicitly refers to Tacitus, the link between *Germania* and his *Relation* is evident. As the Roman author who had seen in the Germans the lost virtue of his world, the Jesuit perceived in the Mi'kmaq an innocence and virtue lost to his countrymen.

Until recently, Biard's *Relation* and Lescarbot's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* were the main references for the Acadian experiment. However, both texts, while revealing the thought of their authors, have to be approached with care as they were produced with specific agenda in mind. Both were meant to be published with the precise goal not only of informing, but also enticing interest and investment. However, the opening of the Vatican archives in the mid twentieth century has provided the opportunity to discover unpublished letters which have brought more light into the

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[57] Biard, *La Relation*, *MNF*, Vol 1. Doc. 162, 490-491.

[58] Tacitus, *Agricola, Germany*, trans. A.R. Birley, 37. Those titles were not initially part of Tacitus' text and were added later by editors and translators. Personal discussion with Dr. Mike Carter.

implementation of this specific mission and the vision of otherness at that time. Indeed, those documents, which have been included by Campeau in their original form in Latin, French, and Italian in his *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, provide a better tool of analysis. They permit a better understanding of the mission by revealing through the different correspondences a clearer idea of the relations that existed between the different protagonists related to the mission de la *Nouvelle-France*. Previously unpublished texts also offer new elements of comparison between private and official letters, helping to have a better grasp of the thoughts of their authors.

While the 73 volume edition of the *Relations* produced by Reuben Gold Thwaites opened with Lescarbot's *La Conversion des Savages qui ont esté baptizés en la Nouvelle France*, dated 1610, Campeau's first volume of his *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, published in 1967, has for its first document the letter addressed to Pierre Biard by the General of the order Claude Acquaviva, dated July 15th 1602, which acknowledge his demand to go 'ad Indios.' In fact, Campeau adds 162 letters related to Acadia in his first volume, most published for the first time.[59] Most letters are in Latin. This is not surprising. Since the creation of the Society, Latin had served as the base of the Jesuit education and was used as "langue unificatrice pour la République des Lettres."[60] Students were prohibited from using any other language but Latin between themselves. "Dans l'affrontement avec le nationalisme qui accompagnait les mouvements de la Réforme, le recours au latin dans la conversation apparaissait donc comme un ferment

[59] Léon Pouliot, review of *Monumenta Novae Franciae* I, *La première mission d'Acadie (1602-1616)*, by Lucien Campeau S.J., *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* vol. 21, n° 1, (1967): 125.
[60] Leroux, 39-40.

d'unité."[61] Latin was used for all official communications to the General in Rome, while vernacular could be used for letters sent to the direct or provincial superior.[62] The different letters we have of Pierre Biard follow that pattern.[63]

Westra has examined two of the missionary's letters and has compared them to his *Relation* published in 1616. The first, dated 31 January 1612 was sent from Port Royal to the General Acquaviva in Rome. This document, written in Latin, is in fact a report of the situation in the colony. As the *Relation* published later, it provides information on the geographical situation, the nature of the inhabitants, the state of the mission, and a report of the trip itself. Campeau has reproduced it in his *Monumenta Novae Franciae* in its original form as document 77.[64] After having seen the letter in the Vatican archives, he confirms that it is Biard's original, thus not a copy, and that it shows only a few annotations in the margin by an unknown author.[65] He argues that this document, which was published in an edition of the *Annuae Litterae*, "est sortie intacte de son examen et a été publiée sans correction et sans retouches."[66] It is in his opinion, out of all the letters we have from Biard, the one that has suffered the least from revision.

Westra recognises in that letter the generally positive attitude of Biard towards the Mi'kmaq. He notes the richness of expressions used by the priest to describe the Indigenous peoples, "*populi*, (peuples), *gens*, (tribu, peuple) *natio,* (nation), *indigenae*,

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[61] Ibid..

[62] Jean-François Cottier, "Écrits latins en Nouvelle-France (1608-1763) : premier état de la question," *Tangence* n° 92 (2010):15.

[63] However, the particular situation of the French Jesuits could also explain the use of French. Indeed as explained by Myriam Yardeni, it was important for the French Jesuits, often perceived as Spanish spies, to demonstrate that they were true Frenchmen though their use of the French language. Yardeni in *La Conscience Nationale en France*.

[64] Campeau, *MNF*, Vol 1, Doc 77, 203-225.

[65] Ibid., 203.

[66] Ibid., 205.

(indigènes), *incolae* (habitants), *sylvatici* (hommes des forêts)" and the more poetic "*sylvicolae* (habitants des forêts)."[67] He notes that the more pejorative term *barbarus*, (barbarian) is used in the 1612 letter, as in the *Relation*, very sparingly and often preceded by "pauvres,"[68] which demonstrate a form of sympathy. Indeed, the term appears only three times in the correspondence to Acquaviva.[69] Biard also contrasts the generosity and *art de vivre* of the Mi'kmaq to the cupidity of his countrymen. Westra argues that "to demonstrate the superiority of the Other,"[70] Biard's comparative rhetoric is similar to the one used by Tacitus in *Germania* who also praised the Germans' generosity (Germ. 21).

However, while Westra affirms that the 1612 letter and the *Relation* were "indisputably"[71] written by Biard, he believes that in the second document, "semantic, stylistic and ethnographic"[72] variances indicate a different author.[73] This leads him to believe that the document is not Biard's and has been extensively edited. Even Campeau, in his introduction to the document informs that "[i]l ne porte ni date ni nom d'auteur et…a la forme d'une relation plutôt que d'une lettre. En fait, il reproduit en raccourci la substance de la Relation du P. Biard."[74] He maintains that the text is Biard's but recognizes that P. Philibert Monet, the editor of the Jesuit publication *Annuae Litterae* in which the document was published, has modified the text to the "*exigences des*

[67] Westra, "Les premières descriptions."10-11.
[68] Ibid., 11.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid., 12. (my translation)
[71] Ibid., 1
[72] Ibid., 10
[73] Ibid.,
[74] *MNF*, Vol 2, doc 4, 7.

censeurs."[75] Westra goes further than Campeau and believes that Philibert Monet, did more than an editor's work: he talks of a "*réappropriation*" and "*réécriture*" of Biard's experiences.[76]

The text *In Novam Franciam, Seu Canadiam, Missio*, dated 1618, digress from Biard's other testimonies and according to Westra does not correspond to the writing style of the missionary. The Latin used is more sophisticated. There are evident disparities not only in the perception of the Indigenous peoples, but also in the style and syntax used. Furthermore the vocabulary used throughout the document is wider and more elegant than the one usually present in Biard's texts.[77] The word *barbarus*, also found in its superlative form *barbarissimus*, becomes the most frequent term used to describe the Indigenous people, appearing more than 33 times,[78] and is associated this time with terms that designate savagery, inhumanity and ferocity.[79] The damaging depictions of the inhabitants of Acadia, in Westra's opinion, appears like the reflect of the tainted perception of a priest who has never been to the New World. This pseudo-Biard, as he calls him, demonstrates "une tendance à la généralisation méprisante"[80] and does not make any distinction as Biard did between the different groups. [81] According to the text, they are all barbarians and the Mi'kmaq, of whom Biard had recognized the intelligence[82] and spirituality,[83] are depicted as "ignorant and stupid, little more than

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[75] Ibid.,
[76] Westra, "Les premières descriptions." 16.
[77] Ibid., 14-15.
[78] Ibid., 13.
[79] Ibid., 17.
[80] Ibid., 13.
[81] Ibid.
[82] "*ces gens ne sont point niais, nullement: et qu'on nous en croye*."[82], Campeau, *MNF*, Vol. 1, Doc. 78, 244.
[83] "ils possèdent, toutefois, une certaine connaissance faible du Dieu unique" quoted in Westra in "les premières descriptions" (his translation) from *MNF* 1, Doc. 77, p. 213.

beasts."[84] In fact, it is from this text that the quote most often associated to Biard is taken. Westra believes that it is unlikely that the Jesuit's opinion of the Mi'kmaq could have changed so drastically. [85] The affirmation that the Mi'kmaq nation "consists of men who are hardly above the beasts"[86] could thus very well be the personal vision of the editor P. Monet, a man who had never set foot in New France.

The three documents examined by Westra were meant to be published. However, we also have two of Biard's letters written during his stay in Port Royal to the Provincial Christophe Baltazar, whom he knew very well. Written in French, those were not meant to be published in the *Annuae Litterae*, else, as argued by Campeau, they would have been written in Latin to save the chore of translation.[87] They could then be considered to be of a more personal nature. The first one, dated 10 Juin 1611 was written just a few weeks after Biard's arrival in May. The original has been lost and only three highly edited copies remain plus a Latin translation. Indeed, as it was the first Jesuit report on the Acadian settlement it appears that this letter was seen as important enough to be translated into Latin. Campeau who has seen the document says that, judging from the type of calligraphy, the translation appear to have been done soon after the letter was written by a young anonymous scribe.[88] In the missive Biard describes his trip and arrival in Port Royal. He praises the "*Armoutiquois, Irequois et Montagnès*,"[89] and speaks favourably of the Mi'kmaq leader, the Sagamo, Membertou. However, he has severe comments on the Mi'kmaq who live close to the settlement. Westra contends that those

[84] Westra, "Les premières descriptions." 13.
[85] Ibid.,15.
[86] *MNF*, Vol.2, Doc 4, 9.
[87] Campeau, *MNF*. Vol 1, Doc. 78, 226.
[88] Ibid., 124.
[89] Ibid., Doc. 63, 151.

critical comments are not typical of Biard and that the Jesuit, just arrived, could have been influenced at that time by second hand reports. [90]

In the second letter, addressed to Baltazar and dated 31 *Janvier* 1612, Biard again has only praise for the Indigenous leaders like Membertou, [91] and Météourmite,[92] whom he describes as "les plus grands harangueurs de toute la terre."[93] Jesuits who were masters in the art of rhetoric could not help admire the eloquence of Amerindian leaders. He also recognised their intelligence, observing that "ces gens ne sont point niais, nullement: et qu'on nous en croye."[94] The language is more intimate than that used in his previous letter. Indeed, the letter reveals a very human side of the Jesuit especially as he recalls an expedition to the mouth of the *Kenebec* River. Biard describes a night where he asked the Frenchmen to sing hymns to counteract the songs and dances performed by the "*Armouchiquois*"[95] who were on the other side of the river waiting, he believed, to attack them. The French, who knew just a few hymns, sang popular songs and finally began to imitate the indigenous songs so well that the two groups start to respond to each other, "Vrayement, il y avoit beau rire; car vous eussiés dit que c'estoyent 2 chœurs qui s'entendoyent fort bien, et à peine eussiés-vous peu distinguer le vray Armouchiquois d'avec le feinct."[96] It is difficult to imagine a stern and scornful man writing such an anecdote. He may have been reserved, but he was not deprived of humour.

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[90] Westra, "Les premières descriptions," 11.
[91] Ibid., 235.
[92] Météourmite was a Quinibéqui chief, Campeau, *MNF.* Vol. 1, 678.
[93] Ibid., 246.
[94] Ibid., 244.
[95] According to Campeau the Armouchiquois were ennemies of the Souriquois and part of the Abenaquis who lived in what in present Maine. Campeau , *MNF.* Vol. 1, 114-115.
[96] Ibid., 243.

Surprisingly, the missionary has also only good words for Biencourt.[97] However, Biard deplores the poor level of Christianity of the French who are "assés d'ordinaire totallement insensibles au sentiment de leur âme, n'ayans marque de religion sinon leur juremens et reniemens, ny cognoissance de Dieu.[98] He claims that the Frenchmen have a bad influence on the Indigenous people as "la première chose que ces pauvres sauvages apprennent, ce sont les juremens, parolles sales et injures."[99] The lack of organised religion, as well as organized "magistrature ou police, point d'arts, ou libéraux ou mécaniques, point de commerce ou de vie civile" appear as a problem to the Jesuit, but he mainly complains of his frustration at expressing abstract concepts, which he contends, renders conversion very difficult. Unlike Fléché, who had baptized many Mi'kmaq despite their lack of religious knowledge, Biard believed that it was essential that one understood the principle of the Catholic faith before conversion.

Thus, a new approach to the documents left by Biard permits a more nuanced understanding of the initial observations of the first Jesuit to set foot in Acadia. Biard's work has often been put in comparison with Lescarbot's as a way to demonstrate the backwardness of the Society of Jesus. However, if we analyse carefully, using what Carlo Ginzburg refers to as a slow reading, [100] going beyond the texts, making abstraction of prejudices and mostly with a better understanding of the frame of mind that existed in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century French society, we can get a transformed perception of the relationship that might have existed between the Jesuit

[97] Campeau, *MNF*. Vol. 1, Doc. 78, 239.
[98] Ibid., 229.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Carlo Ginzburg, "L'historien et l'avocat du diable," Entretien avec Charles Illouz et Laurent Vidal, Première Partie, *Genèses*, no 53, (2003/4): 116.

missionaries and the different Indigenous peoples they encountered. Biard's conclusion to chapter eight of his *Relation* reveals much about his state of mind. The rest of the account deals with the means to ensure the conversion of the Indigenous peoples and is followed by descriptions of subsequent events that happened in Port Royal until his return to France. However, the conclusion of chapter eight echoes Tacitus' critiques on the ills provoked by the Roman civilization of his time. Biard's words let us grasp at a glimpse of the Jesuit's reflections on his own society.

> Mais si ores nous venons à sommer le tout et apparier leurs maux avec les nostres, je ne sây si, en vérité, ils n'ont point bonne raison de préférer, comme ils font, leur félicité à la nostre; au moins, si nous parlons de la félicité temporelle que les riches et mondains cherchent en cette vie. Car si bien ils n'ont pas toutes ces délices que les enfants de ce siècle recherchent, ils sont francs des maux qui les suivent et ont du contentement des maux qui ne les accompagnent pas.[101]

Biard finishes the paragraph claiming that the only misery of the Mi'kmaq is their lack of knowledge of Jesus Christ. In everything else they lived a better life than the Europeans, free from the ills that accompany a life constructed on earthly wealth. Carile, a fervent defender of Lescarbot, believes this excerpt is the result of a moment of weakness in Biard, where the Jesuit sees that beside the lack of Christian beliefs, the civilization of Indigenous peoples is as valuable as European civilization. He believes that Biard, by integrating different paradigms eventually expresses "des jugements contradictoires, dont il ne semble pas se rendre compte."[102] Of course, we can only interpret the words left by Biard. However, if we examine the testimonies left by the Jesuit, those that have not been heavily edited, we do not find that many contradictions. As Westra observed, Biard, while keeping a critical approach, appreciated the many

[101] Campeau, *MNF*. Vol. 1, 508.
[102] Carile, 147.

qualities he found in the Mi'kmaq. At the end of chapter eight of his *Relation*, Biard was finishing his report on the people he encountered and in whom he recognized, like Tacitus had with the Germanic tribe, a purity and virtue that he felt had disappeared from his world. Could it be that this small paragraph instead of being, as Carile argues, a moment of weakness, be the key to Biard's thought?

Conclusion.

> Lisez Tacite, sur les mœurs des Germains, c'est le tableau de celles des Hurons, ou plutôt des habitudes de l'espèce humaine entière sortant de l'état de la nature.
>
> (*Des époques de la nature*, Buffon, 1778)

In the first letter Biard sent to the Provincial Christophe Baltazar upon his arrival in 1611, he wrote about the Mi'kmaq, whom he referred to as *les Souriquois*, aware that they had their own specificity that distinguished them from the other nations like the "*Armoutiquois, Irequois et Montagnès.*"[1] However, the tendency to a "généralisation méprisante"[2] observed by Westra in the text written by the 'pseudo Biard', *In Novam Franciam, Seu Canadiam, Missio* in 1618, has often taken precedence in the later historiography over the more detailed descriptions of the different Indigenous nations. Similarly, there has often been no nuance in the depiction of the different newcomers who crossed the Atlantic to reach the diverse parts of the recently discovered continent. Although at the time there was no real notion of Europe as an entity, Europeans have been perceived as a homogenous group. Whereas all shared a Greco Roman background, the main protagonists of the new transatlantic adventure, the Spanish, Portuguese, English, Dutch and French travelers had evolved into societies that distinguished themselves from each other. Up until the mid sixteenth century they had been unified under the same Catholic faith. But since, the power of the Pope had been put into question, there had been a schism in the religious structure and each burgeoning nation had been trying to find its place and identity in a world in turmoil. A race had opened

[1] Campeau, *MNF*, Vol. 1, Doc. 63, 150-151.
[2] Westra, "Les premières descriptions," 13.

toward the West and each participant had a distinct approach according his nation's specific desire for wealth, lands, manpower, trade and, or, souls to convert. France, after its expedition to Brazil had ended in a disaster, was at the beginning of the seventeenth century concentrating its efforts on the northern part of America. While less appealing for settlement, the territory was rich in primary sources, fish, furs, and timber.

The Jesuits, who actively participated in this transatlantic expansion, were part of the humanist elite of the time. Highly educated, they shared the fascination of the Renaissance scholars for the ancient and newly rediscovered classical texts. As religious men versed in theological matters, they were quite familiar with the works of Plato, Virgil, Cicero, Pliny and Tacitus. As members of a highly structured and disciplined order, they had a distinctive approach to the populations they encountered in their missionary work. Their application to learn the language of those they wanted to convert and their distinctive tactic of *accomodacio* encouraged a form of acculturation that was not prevalent in other missionary orders. However, while part of the global corporation of the Society of Jesus, French Jesuits brought with them to the New World their own specificity. Their vision was a 'French' vision that had been modeled by the society from which they came - sixteenth-century France - a nation not only in search of the story of its origins, but also greatly disturbed by religious conflicts. In opposition to Spain, where otherness took the form of Jews and Moors, in France it was the Jesuits who were considered by many as the 'Other.' Attacked by the Gallican church, the Parlement, the Huguenots and even some factions of the more conservative Catholic Church, the French Jesuits had felt obligated to let go to a certain degree of their vowed allegiance to the Pope and developed strong support at court.

Still, it is in Paris that Loyola, attracted by the intellectual ebullition that prevailed there under the rule of Francois 1er, had founded the Society. Out of the chaos, provoked by the shattering of the paradigms that had prevailed for the last centuries, was emerging a modern world. The Jesuits, born of the French Renaissance were part of this new world. For them the 'Other' was the heretic, not the pagans they met in the New World. Biard, who first described them, argued that, as the German barbarians described by Tacitus, they had retained an initial virtue that had been lost to the more civilized societies. Through the appropriation of Tacitus' rhetoric the idea of the Noble Savage had just emerged.

The *Jesuit Relations* have been an important source for historians who have used the missionaries' testimonies as a key to the understanding of the first chapters of the transatlantic world of the seventeenth century. However, many have relied on often-unreliable translations to arrive at their conclusions. Campeau's publication of the first volume of *Monumenta Novae Franciae* in 1969, after the opening of the Vatican archives, has given the opportunity to analyse not only more documents, but to read them in their original language. Classicists have made connections between those texts and works written in antiquity and have contributed to the revision of an image of the Jesuits tainted by the "Black Legend" to one more coherent with their humanist education. French Jesuits who like Pierre Biard were highly educated, not only in theology but also in philosophy, arts and sciences in general, could not have ignored one of the most popular classical author of the time. If we recognize that books talk to books, then we can appreciate that *Germania* and the *Jesuit Relations* did exchange a few words.

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